



Lincoln Cathedral Chapter and Ceremonial Gift-Exchange:  
establishing alliances in the fourteenth century

Doctor of Philosophy

School of History and Heritage, College of Arts

March 2018

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHAPTER AND CEREMONIAL GIFT-  
EXCHANGE: ESTABLISHING ALLIANCES IN THE FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY

Abigail Dorr

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of  
Lincoln for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2018

Abstract: Abigail Dorr, Doctor of Philosophy

Lincoln Cathedral and Ceremonial Gift-Exchange: establishing alliances in the fourteenth century

This thesis analyses the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter, which run almost continuously between 1304 and 1386. These records contain a wealth of information on the administration and financial situation of a religious institution in the fourteenth century but have widely been neglected. This study highlights the potential of financial accounts to not only contribute to current understanding of the economic stability of an institution, but to provide an insight into the performance of the tenants and debtors who frequent the material. In a similar way to manorial records allowing the historian to access the lives of the peasantry, the common fund reveals much about the experience and stability of both the rural and urban inhabitants of the Lincolnshire diocese in the fourteenth century. In contradiction to the findings of Francis Hill, the common fund highlights the performance of Lincolnshire in the aftermath of the Black Death and suggests that the Chapter, city and wider settlements remained economically stable in the decades notorious for sustained population decline and economic collapse.

The study uses the accounts to explore the relationship between Lincoln Cathedral Chapter and the outside world through an evaluation of its gift-giving practices. The accounts contain numerous examples of gifts both received and offered by the Chapter, which proved an effective way to establish alliances and to cement friendships. The thesis analyses trends in the value of gift-exchange throughout the turbulent and troublesome fourteenth century. Gift-exchange established reciprocal alliances between the rich and poor, and the living and dead. The study evaluates exchange between pilgrims and saints using shrine accounts, the rich and the poor using obit records, and gifts given directly by the Chapter to the poor of the diocese and members of both the secular and religious elite. Where one socio-economic crisis led to a reduction in gift-exchange, another increased the value of giving.

This study is the first of its kind to use institutional ecclesiastical accounts to explore the economic performance of both rural and urban settlements. The availability of the data facilitates an exploration of long-term trends in gift-exchange and places gift-giving practices against a backdrop of significant social and economic change in an age of famine, deflation, and plague. The common fund accounts contribute to current knowledge on the place of unofficial saints, which benefit from extensive shrine account data. With eight regular openings of the shrine boxes throughout the year, this study adds further nuance to seasonal cycles in pilgrimage and allows for a comparison of the veneration of official saints and those who failed to secure papal recognition. For the first time, this thesis can compare the extent of charitable giving to the poor with other forms of expenditure to understand whether charity was motivated by the recipients' need to receive or the benefactors' ability to give. This thesis uses gift-giving behavior to highlight the potential of institutional accounts to further current knowledge on economic performance and the place of a cathedral in the urban space.

## Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the University of Lincoln and the School of History and Heritage for funding my PhD. I could not have wished for a more supportive environment to undertake a doctoral thesis. I am also extremely grateful to the staff of the Lincolnshire Archives and the Cathedral Archives for all their advice, particularly Nicholas Bennett and Claire Arrand.

I owe so much to the continuing support and guidance of my supervisors, Philippa Hoskin and Jamie Wood. Philippa's constructive and positive approach to my work really developed my skills as a researcher and writer. Her belief and enthusiasm towards my thesis provided much reassurance during those stressful times filled with self-doubt. Jamie's thorough feedback on chapters and papers was incredibly useful and encouraged me to reflect on my work to improve in critically analysing evidence. I feel so genuinely lucky and privileged to have worked with two such inspiring and supportive supervisors. I would also like to thank other members of the history department at Lincoln, particularly Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, and Jack Cunningham at Bishop Grosseteste University for their advice and comments on papers and my progress. I am also grateful to Richard Goddard and Rob Lutton at the University of Nottingham who inspired my love for historical research and gave me the confidence to pursue a PhD.

I would like to thank Hollie Morgan and Marianne Wilson who offered so much support when I needed it most. I owe so much to Rachel Yemm, Rebecca Searby, Sara Mederos and other members of the PGR community whose friendships ensured I never felt alone throughout this process and helped keep me sane. I am forever grateful to friends outside of academia, particularly Kay Warner and Emma Wood, who listened when I was stressed and picked me up when I was down. I would like to thank others who read my work and offered their support during the final stages of my research, including Emmi Harris and Sacha Mason. I am also grateful to the 'Eagles' netball team, whose friendships were valuable and who offered a much-needed distraction on Tuesday nights. A very special thank you goes to Anna Thomson, who put up with my daily stress and was always reassuring and positive. Anna made this process enjoyable, even throughout the most difficult times.

Finally, I am forever indebted to my amazing family and boyfriend Aaron whose continual belief and encouragement kept me going. I would not be where I am without my wonderful mum and dad who are so supportive of everything I do and show me every day how proud they are. My brother Josh and my grandparents also helped to build up my confidence, to talk through ideas, and to offer advice on chapters. Aaron's constant faith and support gave me the confidence I needed to complete my thesis. He was always there to celebrate the highs and to restore my self-belief throughout the lows. I could not have done this without you all. Thank you for everything.

## Table of Contents

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>6</b>
 <b>CHAPTER ONE: FAMINE, PLAGUE, AND DEFLATION - THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL AND DIOCESE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.</b> .....	 <b>17</b>
 <b>CHAPTER TWO: CEREMONIAL GIFT-EXCHANGE AND THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL BONDS</b> .....	 <b>65</b>
 <b>CHAPTER THREE: THE PILGRIM AND CEREMONIAL GIFT-EXCHANGE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY</b> .....	 <b>100</b>
 <b>CHAPTER FOUR: THE PILGRIM AND CEREMONIAL GIVING: A REASSESSMENT OF DICHOTOMY BETWEEN OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL SAINTS</b> .....	 <b>140</b>
 <b>CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROLE OF THE GIFT AT LINCOLN CATHEDRAL: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE OF GIFT-GIVING PRACTICES IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY</b> .....	 <b>169</b>
 <b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	 <b>209</b>
 <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	 <b>215</b>

## Introduction

Prominently situated on top of the aptly named Steep Hill, Lincoln Cathedral remains an impressive sight. There is no doubt that the structure must have been a wonder to behold for the city's inhabitants and visitors throughout its thousand-year history. In the fourteenth century, it was both a physically and figuratively imposing institution. The Cathedral's important role within the diocese resonated in both temporal and spiritual jurisdictions. As a significant landholder and the mother church in a diocese that stretched from the Humber to London, Lincoln Cathedral held a dominant and powerful position in its local society and economy. The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter, which require closer in-depth academic scrutiny, offer an invaluable and extensive resource to evaluate the position of the institution within its diocese and to mark any changes in its fortunes. They present a useful source to evaluate and analyse the relationship between the Cathedral and the outside world. The records allow for a detailed analysis on the revenue and expenditure of the Cathedral Chapter and highlight its concerns of profit, loss, and long-term economic stability. The common fund facilitates analysis on the administration, organisation, and financial performance of a secular religious house.

In a monastery, a group of monks or nuns lived in common on the proceeds of their institution's estate after taking vows of poverty. Conversely, those responsible for the workings of a secular cathedral, such as Lincoln, were resident canons who received an equal share of the annual remaining surplus from the common fund.<sup>1</sup> Residence was an expensive burden, due to obligations for hospitality, and it took canons away from their prebendal estates.<sup>2</sup> However, the careful management of revenue and expenditure in the common fund could potentially result in a lucrative source of income for resident canons. The accounts include the collection of rents, tithes, shrine donations, and Pentecostal offerings. They record the payments of obit expenses, court fees, gifts and bribes, and repairs to buildings. The records are separate from the fabric accounts, which financed the maintenance of the Cathedral itself. Sources of income directly related to funding the construction and repair of the Cathedral are therefore not included within this study.

---

<sup>1</sup> R.H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), pp.6-70.

<sup>2</sup> For further information on the organisation of secular cathedrals see K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages: a constitutional study with special reference to the fourteenth century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).

The common fund accounts are largely continuous throughout the fourteenth century. They are very accessible, with a neat hand and layout, and little damage accrued over the succeeding several centuries. The accounts' purpose is perhaps responsible for its legibility. The common fund was a final, audited version of all receipts, expenditure, and surplus of the Cathedral Chapter. It consisted of multiple tributary accounts, which were maintained by individual canons throughout the year before being fed into the common fund towards Michaelmas when the years' accounts were due. Each tributary account had its own subheading within the centralised common fund. The bishop was required to authorise and verify its contents, and the frequent annotations in the margins suggest that the records were also used to predict future earnings and forecast economic stability. The common fund includes comprehensive arrears sections each year and extensive lists of clients and debtors who failed to settle debts on time. There are also detailed lists of non-resident canons who were obliged to pay a seventh of their prebends' annual earnings to the common fund. Any remaining coin was then equally distributed amongst the resident canons each year.

The accounts exist as folios bound into a series of volumes; three of which pertain to the fourteenth century. Each financial year contains approximately twelve A3 folios of economic qualitative and quantitative data. The accounts offer an insight into the various sources of revenue and expenditure affecting the Cathedral Chapter's financial position. The revenue section comprised of income from rents, tithes and demesne farming, the opening of shrine accounts, Pentecostal offerings and prebendal tax from non-resident canons. Main forms of expenditure were gifts, the purchase of wax and wine, court fees, payments related to fulfilling post-mortem services and the cost of maintaining the Chapter's estates. The clerk of the common fund, who was responsible for compiling the records, gave each subheading a total and then rounded off both the revenue and expenditure section with overall totals, which were then used to calculate surplus. Following the surplus calculation, the clerk then accounted for all payments in arrears and distributed all remaining coin equally between the canons in residence. The number of canons residing at the Cathedral and working to maintain services fell between eight and thirteen each year but there were usually ten. Each canon had their own responsibilities to ensure the proper running of the institution and, in reward, they were due a portion of the surplus generated throughout the year.

Existing historical research has not realised the full potential of the common fund of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. Kathleen Major's preliminary study explored the contents and purpose of

the accounts but did not intend to fully analyse the implications of the records. Major's work highlighted the possibilities for further research using the common fund, particularly to understand and analyse administrative processes and organisation.<sup>3</sup> Katherine Edwards also used the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter as part of her wider study on the organisation of secular cathedrals. In particular, the accounts were used to evaluate the prebends allocated to non-resident canons and the taxes on their income.<sup>4</sup> Edward's study is useful as a comparative guide to secular churches, but still leaves much room for a more comprehensive analysis on the function and significance of the common fund as a tool to access the changing fortunes of a fourteenth-century religious house.

The accounts are not solely a reflection of the workings and financial stability of the Cathedral Chapter itself but provide a window into the economic performance of the wider diocese and its inhabitants. The range of sources of revenue and expenditure highlight the immense potential of the records to further current understanding of fourteenth-century Lincolnshire. Tithes, revenue from the Cathedral's demesne, and taxes from prebendal estates, which were a percentage of the lands' proceeds, can be used to estimate the success of agriculture throughout the diocese. Rents from within the city reveal the ability of Lincoln's tenants to pay debts on time and allow for estimates on the level of vacant properties. The accounts reveal when tenants could best pay their rents on time, when peasants were most able to provide tithes, and when pilgrims felt most compelled to venerate saints in search of miracles and divine favour. The availability of the records, which exist with very few gaps between 1304 and 1386, also offer evidence of the changing prices of staple goods such as wax, cloth, and bread. The records suggest which markets the Chapter visited and how often canons were required to offer hospitality to passing noblemen and their entourage. They have much potential for evaluating the position of the Cathedral Chapter within wider social networks. They provide insight into how the Cathedral interacted with the local poor, passing merchants, tradesmen, tenants, pilgrims, and benefactors.

A full consideration of the accounts is thus far too grand a project for the current thesis, which takes the first steps to assess the role of the Cathedral in the diocese and urban space through trends in the Chapter's gift-giving behaviour. This thesis explores the role of the gift in cementing the Cathedral's position within its diocese and establishing desirable relationships

---

<sup>3</sup> K. Major, 'The finances of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln from the twelfth to the fourteenth century: a preliminary survey', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 5.2 (1954), pp.149-167.

<sup>4</sup> Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, pp.31-32, 44-45, 84-85.



and alliances. It analyses pilgrim gifts to saints, and the Cathedral Chapter's gifts to the poor and to key elite officials. The main aim of this thesis is to evaluate how socio-economic trends shaped ceremonial gift-exchange practices. Such a study on gift-giving is well suited to fourteenth-century England, which saw many socio-economic upheavals. The fourteenth century was therefore chosen as the opportune period in which to conduct this study on gift-giving and economic performance due to the availability of the evidence and the extent of socio-economic change affecting towns and villages alike. The recurrent bouts of famine, plague, and bullion shortages ensured that the Cathedral Chapter had to steer its way through several financially testing times. The Chapter's gift-giving behaviours can be juxtaposed with the wider economic and social climate. The thesis analyses how famine and high prices, and plague and depopulation, shaped and influenced the value of gift-exchange relationships. The conclusion that the fourteenth century saw national economic decline is widely accepted but the degree and starting-point of contraction remains debated.<sup>5</sup> Focus has now fallen upon regional variation.<sup>6</sup> When one town declined, another prospered. This thesis uses the common fund accounts to explore the extent to which the performance of Lincoln Cathedral followed the patterns of economic trends found in the existing historiography. It aims to determine whether a study on Lincoln corroborates current theories of economic stability and decline in the fourteenth century.

The overarching conclusion is that offering and receiving ceremonial or public gifts were crucial for the Cathedral to develop and establish its social position. Gifts were a useful tool to create and nurture favourable alliances and can be seen throughout the accounts in the fourteenth century as both sources of revenue and expenditure. They bound rich and poor together in a relationship that promised salvation to benefactors and subsistence to beneficiaries. Gifts transcended the realms of living and dead and ensured that the deceased remained part of the living's society. The living sought divine favour and offered eternal salvation and veneration. The reciprocal nature of gift-giving ensured that a recipient of a gift was compelled to receive, acknowledge, and return the gesture. The creation of a reciprocal

---

<sup>5</sup> For an introduction into the debates see A.R. Bridbury, *Economic growth: England in the later Middle Ages*, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975); A. Dyer, *Decline and growth in English towns 1400-1640*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1995); B.F. Harvey, 'The population trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (1966), pp.23-42; J. Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past & Present*, 144 (1994), pp.3-35; M.M. Postan, 'Some economic evidence of declining population in the later Middle Ages', *The Economic History Review*, 2, 3 (1950), pp.221-246.

<sup>6</sup> See R. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester: 1300-1525*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

social contract, based upon these practices, promoted and propagated continual cycles of gift-exchange.

The first chapter provides an overview to the records and acts as a reference point for the remainder of the thesis. It allows for an understanding of the overall economic position of the Cathedral Chapter and the sources of income and expenditure within the records. The chapter outlines the contents of the accounts. It evaluates how the economic performance of the Cathedral changed over the course of the fourteenth century during episodes of inflation, famine, and plague. The analysis is framed around the ongoing debate on the English national economy and the extent to which famine in the first half of the century or the Black Death in 1349 marked the onset of contraction seen throughout the later Middle Ages. The aim of the chapter is to determine how the Cathedral Chapter's ability to raise funds and protect a surplus changed dependent upon wider economic trends. The trends found within the common fund accounts indicate that the famine in 1315-1317 presented a short-term shock, from which both the Cathedral and city of Lincoln were able to recover quickly. The 1320s brought much wealth to Lincoln Cathedral, with few tenants or debtors struggling to pay rents on time. During the period of excessive deflation in the 1340s, it proved more difficult for the Chapter to remain financially stable and its surplus began to drop. The Black Death brought significant changes to the ways in which the Cathedral's assets and debts were managed. Where some sources of revenue depleted, others became more lucrative. The accounts indicate a rise in *per capita* wealth, which to an extent successfully counteracted any loss of income the Chapter may have faced due to widespread and sudden demographic decline.

The chapter evaluates sources of income, expenditure, and the volume of unpaid debts in arrears. It argues that Lincoln Cathedral remained financially buoyant throughout a century of national economic and social upheaval and instability, with the help of astute managerial and administrative officials. The study thus challenges the conclusions drawn by Francis Hill who postulated the immediate collapse of Lincoln in the aftermath of the Black Death.<sup>7</sup> The common fund indicates that the city remained buoyant, with tenants affording their rents and tithes. The Chapter continued to make lucrative earnings from its demesne, which indicates that agriculture throughout the diocese remained stable and profitable in the second half of the century. Instead, the evidence of stability in the town supports the more recent arguments put forward by Alan Kissane that Lincoln remained buoyant until at least the close of the fourteenth

---

<sup>7</sup> F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.251-6, 270-3, 286-8.

century.<sup>8</sup> An understanding of the Chapter's financial position alongside the economic performance of Lincoln can be used to estimate the canons' ability to supply gifts and the wider communities need to demand them.

The second chapter evaluates the role of the gift in archaic, medieval, and modern societies. It specifically explores theories on ceremonial or public gift-exchange, instances of which regularly occur within the common fund account of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. Using Marcel Mauss's identification of ceremonial giving as an enigma because it is neither economically nor morally motivated, the study discusses the ways in which gifts can be used to develop and strengthen social bonds. The study argues that motivations to give ceremonial gifts are neither moral nor economic yet exist within strict parameters of morality and economic considerations. To achieve their aim in creating social bonds in a society with a fully developed economic system, a donor needs to appear moral and altruistic. The types of gifts examined within the research include elite forms of philanthropy, such as galas and banquets, wills and post-mortem bequests, guild charity, and donations to saints. It also explores the influence of Purgatory on giving practices. The chapter concludes that differences between modern and medieval forms of gift-giving are more apparent than real. Similar to Mauss's observation of archaic societies, ceremonial giving remains a *Total Social Fact* in both medieval and modern societies with developed markets; the obligations to give, receive, and reciprocate continue to engage the entire society in religious, economic, and social aspects of daily life.

Neither moral nor financial factors drove ceremonial exchange, yet the desire to appear altruistic and concerns for economic stability had an influence in setting the parameters of public giving. Gifts are only a successful way to secure social bonds if the donor appears generous, philanthropic, and prosocial. However, if the concern to appear altruistic is too explicit, the relationship between donor and beneficiary fails. Ceremonial giving is a careful balance. Economic considerations do not always affect gift-exchange relationships in the same way. One economic shock could lead to a rise in giving, and the next one a decline. If a natural disaster, epidemic, or financial crisis increases the value of a social relationship, giving continues. If self-preservation becomes too paramount a concern, gifts soon decline. Both economic and social factors encouraged or shaped the proliferation of ceremonial gift-exchange.

---

<sup>8</sup> A. Kissane, *Civic community in late medieval Lincoln: urban society and economy in the age of the Black Death, 1289–1409* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.10.

This theoretical chapter outlines existing theories of ceremonial gift-exchange to explore possible motivations for gift-giving. It highlights the importance of gifts in the creation of relationships, between both the living and the deceased. The conclusion that the desire to establish favourable alliances inspired and encouraged public gift-giving can be applied throughout this thesis to conceptualise the nature of ceremonial gift-exchange in fourteenth-century Lincoln. Combined with the preceding analysis of the wider national and local economy, this chapter provides the framework for understanding how financial concerns affected and influenced the desire to create and develop social bonds. It highlights the possibility that famine and plague could have had very separate effects on gift-giving behaviour and attitudes. Subsequent chapters build upon the conclusions that gifts were designed to create bonds between layman and Church, rich and poor, and living and deceased.

The first two chapters facilitate a discussion on the role of socio-economic change on pilgrimage and veneration to saints, which then forms the basis of chapters three and four. The theoretical analysis of ceremonial exchange is applied to explore pilgrims' motivation to establish a mutually reciprocal relationship with a saint, and thereby ultimately God. The pilgrim offered coin and veneration, the saint provided access to God and miraculous intercession. The third chapter evaluates trends in pilgrimage throughout the fourteenth century to highlight a link between economic trends and pilgrim behaviour. The availability of the data throughout the century allows for analysis of long-term trends. It is possible to determine the impact of food shortages and epidemics on inspiring or discouraging pilgrimage. An analysis of economic change and pilgrim practices is important because it offers an understanding into the changing relationship between laity and saint. It highlights the value of intercession and the perceived belief in the efficacy of veneration for miraculous cures and divine intervention.

The chapter concludes that famine temporarily deterred pilgrims from parting with donations, which is reflected in a sharp reduction in offerings between 1315 and 1317. The number of pilgrims leaving coin at the shrines of Lincoln Cathedral's saints then slowly increased until the years following the Black Death when there was a marked increase in donations. With a substantial decline in population after the plague, the rise in shrine donations suggests that pilgrims were either leaving significantly more generous donations, or the pilgrim-going proportion of the population had increased substantially. Either way, the Black Death clearly increased the value of giving to saints. The chapter argues that this pattern is largely the result

of concerns for the afterlife. The famine, from which only the rich could survive as prices increased, deterred the voluntary offering of coin. The plague encouraged veneration and strengthened belief in the power of saints due to the Church's teaching that any sinful victims would find themselves in Purgatory. The threat of indiscriminate death and a rising sense of imminent mortality brought an increased desire to protect the soul, which could be achieved through ceremonial gift-exchange.

Trends in pilgrim behaviour over the course of the fourteenth century highlight the changing value of the ceremonial gift in times of economic or social crisis. The common fund is a useful resource for analysing pilgrimage because the shrine boxes included within the records were opened and counted eight times a year. The regular openings of the shrine collection boxes at Lincoln adds further nuance to the impact of the annual seasonal cycle on a pilgrim's decision to undertake a spiritual journey. Each year followed almost identical patterns, with high points occurring just after the harvest and in early spring. Low episodes of pilgrimage occurred in August and when labourers were most tied to the land, for example during the harvest. Key feasts and celebrations also had a considerable influence on pilgrimage trends, with saints' festal days and the feast of the Pentecost attracting higher volumes of pilgrims. The coincidence of high volumes of donations on specific days suggests that pilgrims had more confidence in the efficacy of veneration at certain, symbolic times of the year.

The fourth chapter evaluates the saints appearing within the common fund in more detail and calls for a reassessment of the value and perceptions of unofficial saints. In current historiography there remains a significant debate on the longevity of an unofficial cult.<sup>9</sup> Many of Lincoln's saints who failed to be recognised by the pope received much veneration from the laity hundreds of years after their deaths. Their shrines were a lucrative source of revenue for the Cathedral Chapter, but the accounts fail to state explicitly which shrines were included within the records. The chapter argues that only Lincoln's unofficial saints, who failed to earn recognition from the papacy for their sanctity, were included within the common fund. The officially-recognised Saint Hugh was recorded separately, and surplus distributed without ever reaching the centralised common fund accounts. The power of unofficial saints to attract significant numbers of pilgrims suggests papal authority on canonisation was often ignored.

---

<sup>9</sup> See J.W. McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum*, 45.4 (1970), pp.608-623; J. Thielmann, 'Political canonization and political symbolism in medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 29.3 (1990), pp.241-266; C. Valente, 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the utility of sanctity in thirteenth-century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21.1 (1995), pp.27-49.

The demand for saints was sufficient to disregard the pope's decisions on sanctity. Pilgrims sought reciprocal relations with God through the veneration of saints who were yet to receive official recognition for their powers for intercession.

The study evaluates the role of the Chapter in facilitating the reciprocal relationship between pilgrim and saint. The Cathedral offered the pilgrim access to a provider of miracles and furthered the legacy of individual saints. This was an important relationship for saint, pilgrim, and religious house alike. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter went to great lengths to protect the legacies of their saints. Canonisation would boost institutional prestige and potentially protect the longevity of a saint's cult; promising veneration and a valuable source of income for generations to come. The pursuit of canonisation was most apparent in the early fourteenth century with the last known launch of Robert Grosseteste's canonisation campaign. The Cathedral Chapter actively and fervently strove to secure gift-giving to saints and seemingly believed in the importance of their role in protecting the relationship between pilgrim and saint. Bishops promised indulgences to members of the laity venerating at Grosseteste's shrine. The Cathedral stood to benefit financially, spiritually, and socially if its saints were recognised as offering true access to God. However, Grosseteste's ultimate failure to secure canonisation had little effect on the number of pilgrims attracted to the shrine and the Chapter still actively encouraged veneration. The shrine remained well patronised and a lucrative source of income for the Chapter throughout the fourteenth century. The abandonment of canonisation campaigns did not necessarily entail abandoning the support for a saint's cult.

The final study evaluates the Chapter's own gift-giving practices between 1304 and 1386. The accounts monitor the expenditure on gifts to the poor and to important secular and religious figures throughout the diocese. The chapter concludes that gifts to important officials, including members of the nobility and archbishops, were often very generous; costing the Cathedral significant sums of money. However, the Chapter chose to reduce this form of expenditure considerably after the famine years in 1315 to 1317. Gifts were judged an unnecessarily costly burden only to be undertaken if the economic stability of the Cathedral was not in doubt. After the famine years, with only a few exceptions where more generous offers were made, the Cathedral Chapter only parted with 33s. a year in gifts to nobles who passed through the city. The accounts are vague, but it is plausible that such a sum was spent on hospitality.

The poor were more consistent recipients of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's gift-giving than members of the elite. Again, specific details were often omitted from the records, but cloth was given annually to local paupers. Wider socio-economic changes appear to have had little effect on the totals spent on gifts to the poor. Neither famine nor plague prevented the Chapter offering substantial charitable gifts. However, the study suggests that such acts of benevolence and almsgiving were not purely designed to relieve the stress of those in poverty. Through gift-giving, the Chapter purchased prayers for their deceased friends and benefactors who required help from the poor in their journey to heaven. Concerns for the afterlife thus drove charitable gift-giving. Such gifts again highlight the reciprocal nature of ceremonial exchange. The dead left worldly goods in return for prayers and help escaping Purgatory. The canons' role in contributing to the welfare of souls in the afterlife took precedence over gifts to important figures and concerns of economic instability. It was non-negotiable. There are however, very few instances in which the Chapter offered relief to the local poor with no incentive to benefit the dead. Alms-giving purely motivated to support the poor was not an institutional responsibility but a personal and private obligation.

The thesis highlights that gift-giving was an area of spending in which the canons had relative choice over how to spend and distribute their resources. They chose when gifts were a necessary source of expenditure and when they were not. They chose the recipients and appealed to donors. They were, however, acting within strict parameters. Canons strove to appear generous to create social bonds. The bonds created with the dead appear most valuable because they were not affected by wider economic considerations. Ceremonial gift-exchange was a fundamental aspect of daily life and presented a lucrative source of revenue for the Cathedral Chapter, and a costly expense. The Chapter was simultaneously an indirect and direct donor and recipient. Gift-giving ultimately had the creation of alliances and bonds at its core. Pilgrims sought mutually reciprocal relationships with saints, in the hope of securing divine favour. The rich sought mutually reciprocal relationships with the poor, in the hope of securing prayers. A ceremonial gift demanded acknowledgement and recognition to establish and develop bonds.

The thesis uses the common fund accounts as a gateway into understanding social and economic life throughout the course of a precarious and instable century. The common fund offers an insight into the ways in which large landholding institutions and religious houses fared during periods of economic shock and crisis. Three overarching conclusions can be

drawn from this thesis. Firstly, the Cathedral and diocese of Lincoln remained financially stable throughout the turbulent fourteenth century. Secondly, ceremonial gift-exchange permeated the entire society and joined the realms of the living and dead into mutually reciprocal social contracts. Thirdly, famine and plague elicited very different responses from gift-exchange practices. During famine years, the Chapter reduced the level of gifts to other figures, and pilgrims were deterred from parting with coin at the shrines of saints. Famine depleted the value of many social bonds and increased the value of subsistence goods. The plague shaped the consciousness of donors. Wealth could not guarantee survival, but the pious went to heaven. The Black Death increased the value of ceremonial gift-exchange as a means of protecting the soul through alliances with the Church, saints, and God.

The common fund provides a rich source of evidence for analysing and evaluating the role and place of the Cathedral Church in an urban space. This thesis highlights the potential of the common fund accounts as not only an economic resource but as a useful tool to access the daily lives of clergymen and laity in the Lincoln diocese. Gift-giving was a prominent feature of medieval society and used, as it is today, to create desirable social bonds. The Chapter strengthened alliances and honoured the post-mortem wishes of their benefactors and deceased colleagues and friends. Gifts helped to establish peace and united the entire society. They brought together rich and poor, laity and clergyman, and living and dead. An understanding of gifts and gift-giving practices, allows a more nuanced understanding of the creation and development of social relationships and alliances in a large diocese in the fourteenth century.



## Chapter One: Famine, Plague, and Deflation - the economic performance of Lincoln Cathedral and Diocese in the fourteenth century.

Ecclesiastical accounting in the Middle Ages benefits from extensive documentation, readily available to the scholar, and is worthy of a prominent position in historical thought. However, currently only a handful of studies have made use of the rich and full records.<sup>1</sup> The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter, existing from 1304 and largely continuous over subsequent centuries, could likely rival any economic institutional evidence dating from the fourteenth century. With a legible hand, and limited damage accrued over the preceding several hundred years, the records of the common fund of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter do not deserve their past neglect. The documents have significant potential to contribute to a comprehensive study on both the institution and the city of Lincoln's economic performance. The data includes evidence on revenue and expenditure, which provides an understanding into the daily workings of a secular cathedral. Set against the backdrop of the wider economic and social climate, the accounts offer new insight into the financial stability of Lincoln Cathedral and its diocese throughout the turbulent fourteenth century.

This first chapter explores the economic and social climate of the fourteenth century. It outlines the performance of Lincoln Cathedral and diocese and provides a backdrop against which it is possible to evaluate examples of the Chapter's gift-giving practices found within the common fund. The research aims to highlight the canons' ability to give, and the need of their recipients to receive. As Miri Rubin argued, an understanding of the wider economic context facilitates an analysis of the supply and demand of gift-giving. This chapter evaluates Rubin's conclusion that the demand for relief, in the form of the needs of the poor and hungry folk, increased at

---

<sup>1</sup> For comprehensive overall study see R.H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926). Alisdair Dobie's work on Durham Cathedral Priory is perhaps the most recent example of studies undertaken using accounts as the basis of research. His analysis on Durham in the late medieval period highlights the scope and potential of accounts as historical evidence. His monograph on the subject details the financial position of the priory over the course of the later Middle Ages and offers a valuable insight into the inner workings of an ecclesiastical institution, including its economic and other secular concerns. See A. Dobie, 'The development of financial management and control in monastic houses and estates in England c.1200-1540', *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, 18 (2008), pp.141-159; A. Dobie, 'An Analysis of the Bursar's Accounts at Durham Cathedral Priory, 1278-1398', *The Accounting Historian's Journal*, 16 (2008), pp.181-208; A. Dobie, 'The role of the general and provincial chapters in improving and enforcing accounting, financial and management controls in Benedictine monasteries in England 1215-1444', *The British Accounting Review*, 47.2 (2015), pp.142-158; A. Dobie, *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory: Management and Control of a Major Ecclesiastical Corporation, 1083-1539*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). Other studies include I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); R.A.L. Smith *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: a study of monastic administration*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943).

the same time that the prosperity of potential givers fell.<sup>2</sup> The economic situation of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter and the wider diocese allows for further discussion and analysis of the impact of wider economic concerns on gift-giving behaviour. It aids an understanding of how economic and social pressures affected the relationship, largely influenced by gift-exchange, between laity and Church.

Ongoing and prolonged historiographical debate on the existence and prevalence of social and economic crisis ensures that the fourteenth century provides an opportune period for a study of institutional economic stability and performance. In three broad categories, the main theories concerning the extent of economic and social upheaval, which culminated in the turning point of the Middle Ages, revolve around demographic and agrarian collapse, monetarist concerns, and turmoil in the feudal system, all of which arguably find roots between 1280 and 1400. Turbulence, trouble, and change characterises current understanding of the period, marking the fourteenth century as the era bringing an end to expansion and the onset of contraction.<sup>3</sup> Using the wider economic and social climate to frame the research, the study here contributes to our understanding of the prevalence of a crisis in fourteenth-century Lincolnshire through an analysis of how the Cathedral and its diocese fared during famine, recurrent epidemics, bullion shortages, and a decline in feudal relationships. The study concludes that famine presented a short-term economic shock, which was significant but manageable. The plague had more prolonged and complex effects on the stability and performance of the diocese and institution. Some sources of revenue fell, whilst others increased.

The common fund of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter provides a range of statistical and qualitative evidence about the Cathedral as a financial institution. As a detailed economic resource, the accounts offer insight into the organisation, management, and administration of the Chapter and allow it to be viewed as a business; highlighting concerns of profit, debt, and economic stability. The research presented here addresses the strength of the Chapter's accounting system through an analysis of how it coped during the financially testing times presented throughout the fourteenth century. The analysis identifies any changes to the Cathedral's financial performance and the strategies implemented to maximise profit and ensure the long-term durability of the Cathedral Chapter's finances. Conclusions can then be placed against

---

<sup>2</sup> M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.50.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Miller & J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086-1348*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp.53-63.

the backdrop of the historiographical debate concerning the economic and social climate to determine how the Cathedral coped with turmoil, and its resilience in the face of adversity. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter, and the wider diocese, remained economically prosperous throughout the fourteenth century and had the capacity to withstand significant economic threats. The officials tasked with managing assets and debts were astute mathematicians and able to effectively and efficiently react to any perceived risk. The Cathedral's financial affairs were in capable hands.

### *Economy and Society in Fourteenth-Century England*

The study's initial task is to evaluate the extensive historiography on the fourteenth-century economy and society. An understanding of the wider economic and social trends places Lincoln within the existing historiographical framework, which can later reveal the significance of the evidence pertaining to the financial situation of the Cathedral and its diocese. Despite a widely-held consensus that the fourteenth century witnessed remarkable and unprecedented economic and social change, there has long been much debate on the true cause of unrest and turmoil. Historians fail to arrive at any conclusive agreement on the significance of demographic and monetary factors upon economic trends.<sup>4</sup> Both monetarist and demographic historians interpret the fourteenth century as a period witnessing severe inflation in the opening decades, followed abruptly by sudden deflation in the late 1330s. The period of inflation coincided with high population figures and a constant supply of imported silver, which brought high prices and low wages due to high competition between labourers. The second half of the century saw a bullion famine and widespread demographic decline with subsequent epidemics halting any signs of recovery. It was therefore marked by low prices and deflation but buoyant wages. However, the cause of such trends remains extensively contested. The study uses the historiography to later determine which theories an analysis of Lincoln Cathedral's common fund accounts supports.

Supporters of the demographic interpretation argue that population levels and the balance of supply and demand governed economic trends. Opposing their stance, monetarists argue that the economy was more intrinsically linked to the volume of coin in circulation. More recent studies over the previous two decades point towards a synthesis of these theories. N.J.

---

<sup>4</sup> For example, see J. Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past & Present*, 144 (1994), pp.3-35; M. Mate, 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Causes and Consequences', *The Economic History Review*, 28.1 (1975), pp.1-16.

Mayhew, for instance, observed that ‘happily’ medieval scholarship points to an amalgamation and combination of factors. Studies now make claims for the importance of their subject, rather than its pre-eminence.<sup>5</sup> The research here begins with an overview and analysis of the competing theories on the causes and consequences of the inflationary and deflationary behaviour of the fourteenth-century English economy. It concludes that both theories should be accredited with merit and supports the shift from the 1990s to amalgamate both the monetarist and demographic stances.

### *The Demographic Argument*

The fundamental argument of the demographic interpretation is that fourteenth-century economic decline was the result of a much-reduced population. However, even the supporters of this argument, who assert that population was the predominant determinant of price and wage levels, do not agree on the true turning point of population decline in the fourteenth century. There has been much scholarly debate surrounding the onset of demographic contraction, upheld as a key indicator of economic performance. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the first argument to gain support in academic study was that the Black Death, responsible for the loss of up to two thirds of the population in 1349-50, marked the beginning of a long-term demographic decline, from which subsequent epidemics prevented any recovery.<sup>6</sup> However, research emerging from the mid-twentieth century argued that the Black Death merely accelerated the trends already occurring in England following the Great Famine of 1315-1317.<sup>7</sup> Supporters of this theory argue that famine should therefore be accredited as the turning point of the Middle Ages and the true marker of contraction and demographic decline. Later research encouraged a reversion to the prominence of the Black Death as the fundamental cause of economic and social change.<sup>8</sup>

M.M. Postan saw a distinct neo-Malthusian influence on the relationship between population and economic prosperity and sparked the debate in the 1950s on the importance of the Black Death. Demographic decline from 1300 is central to his argument as it demonstrates the effects of positive checks, or increased mortality, on an overpopulated society. Postan’s argument is

---

<sup>5</sup> N.J. Mayhew, ‘Population, money supply, and the velocity of circulation in England, 1300-1700’, *Economic History Review*, 48.2 (1995), pp.238-257.

<sup>6</sup> See J.M.W. Bean, ‘Plague Population and Economic Decline in the Late Middle Ages’, *Economic History Review*, 15 (1963), pp.423-437; J. Saltmarsh, ‘Plague and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 7 (1941), pp.23-41.

<sup>7</sup> See M.M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> See, for an example, Hatcher, ‘England in the Aftermath of the Black Death’.

founded upon the belief that an insupportable population overburdened the early fourteenth-century society. Consequently, increased competition, or positive checks in Malthusian terms, caused a rise in mortality. Postan developed his theory over a large body of work to argue that demographic decline in the early fourteenth century marked the true turning point in the economic climate of the following hundred years.<sup>9</sup> The theory predominantly used rising wage-rates as evidence of depopulation on the premise that increased wages indicates a decline in competition for labour. He argued that an era of expanding population in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries caused an increase in the volume of marginal and poor-quality land under direct cultivation, which inevitably produced an insufficient yield. The precarious balance between population and subsistence meant that after 1300, a large proportion of Europe had a population it was unable to feed; leading to a continued rise in the death-rate and further problems in productivity. Postan concluded that the fall in population during the famine years of 1315-1317 was sufficient to reverse these trends and therefore present the turning point in rural expansion and the beginning of failure for demesne farming.<sup>10</sup>

One of Postan's most acclaimed and influential studies, co-written with J. Titow, analysed heriot data from five Winchester manors; a tax a lord collected after the death of a tenant, paid in either cash or kind. Results suggested that the death-rate prior to 1300 was 27 per 1000, a figure which rose to 50 per 1000 between 1300 and the eve of the Black Death in 1348. The over-arching conclusion was a positive correlation between grain prices and mortality.<sup>11</sup> When demand outstripped supply, a clear indication of population pressure, prices, and subsequently the death-rate, increased. Postan and Titow's study demonstrated a clear link between high prices and the number of deaths, suggesting that the origins of population decline in the fourteenth century occurred before the outbreak of plague in 1349. The theory of demographic change as a consequence of overpopulation in the early fourteenth century earned much support and credence, influencing the study of economic decline over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.<sup>12</sup> However, Postan reiterated that overpopulation was not an autonomous factor in economic and social change. He advocated a search for an underlying

---

<sup>9</sup> M. M. Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2 (1949-50), pp.221-246; Postan, *The Medieval Economy*; M.M. Postan, 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years War', *The Economic History Review*, 12 (1942), pp.1-12.

<sup>10</sup> Postan, 'Evidence of Declining', pp.221-246; Postan, *The Medieval Economy*; Postan, 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years War', pp.1-12.

<sup>11</sup> M.M. Postan & J.Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on five Winchester Manors', *Economic History Review*, 11 (1959), pp.392-417.

<sup>12</sup> Postan & Titow, 'Heriots and Prices', pp.392-417. Postan's work influenced Rubin's study on medieval Cambridge. See Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp.15-33.

cause of a shift in the demographic trend and stated that in the years around 1300, population pressure was as much a symptom as a cause of economic distress.<sup>13</sup>

Despite its influence, Postan and his supporters faced criticism from the 1960s, including from Marxist historian Robert Brenner. Marxist interpretations place more emphasis and responsibility for malaise on the structure of society, rather than any problems facing agricultural production. Brenner's theory suggested that it was the excessive burden of rent that prevented economic growth in the fourteenth century, rather than the burden of overpopulation. The power that feudal lords held facilitated extortionate rents and landlords extracted as much surplus coin and kind from their tenants as possible. According to Brenner, it was therefore the effects of a class struggle that halted agrarian and economic development in the early fourteenth century as the lords' greed ensured that there was no room for investment in improved technology or practices.<sup>14</sup> Brenner's thesis received much condemnation and scathing reviews from demographic historians, including John Hatcher and Postan, who accused him of misrepresenting their views and confusing their arguments.<sup>15</sup> Through this debate, supporters of the demographic interpretation reiterated that historians of population only view demographic decline as a predominant factor and do not discount other changes from bearing an influence in the economic development of England. According to demographic historians, any apparent shifts in class structure or relations should be viewed as symptoms of population change and therefore should not be accorded a prime role.<sup>16</sup>

The theory to date economic change from the early fourteenth century proved controversial and found many critics. One such critic was Barbara Harvey, who aimed to reassess Postan's findings through topographical evidence of settlement size. Her study into holdings in the

---

<sup>13</sup> M.M. Postan, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.213.

<sup>14</sup> R. Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in pre-Industrial Europe', *Past & Present*, 70 (1976), pp.30-75.

<sup>15</sup> E. Le Roy Ladurie, 'A reply to Robert Brenner', *Past & Present*, 79 (1978), pp.55-59; M.M. Postan & J. Hatcher, 'Population and Class Relationships in Feudal Society', *Past & Present*, 78 (1978), pp.24-37.

<sup>16</sup> Brenner's theory led to a heated debate in the *Past & Present* journal in the late 1970s and early 1980s. See G.R. Blois, 'Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy', *Past & Present*, 79 (1978), pp.60-69; R. Brenner, 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 97 (1982), pp.16-113. J.P. Cooper, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 80 (1978), pp.20-65; P. Croot & D. Parker, 'Agrarian Class Structure and the Development of Capitalism: France and England Compared', *Past & Present*, 78 (1978), pp.37-47; H. Hilton, 'A Crisis of Feudalism', *Past & Present*, 80 (1978), pp.3-19; A. Klima, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Bohemia', *Past & Present*, 85 (1979), pp.49-67; Le Roy Ladurie, 'A reply'; Postan & Hatcher, 'Population and Class Relationships'; H. Wunde, 'Peasant Organisation and Class Conflict in Easter and Western Germany', *Past & Present*, 78 (1978), pp.48-55. See also T.H. Ashton & C.H.E. Philpin, (eds.), *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

fourteenth century argued that the value of rent remained relatively constant. Harvey found no correlation between the regions suffering most acutely from financial difficulty and those with the smallest average holding size, which contradicted Postan's theory that holdings became insufficient to support a family. Those peasants most vulnerable to a Malthusian check do not seem to have faced a heightened struggle in comparison to their richer neighbours. The study suggested that villages which contained the smallest holdings often continued to increase in size. Harvey also highlighted how farming on marginal land had been commonplace for centuries so would be unlikely to suddenly cause catastrophe after 1300. She concluded that there is no sufficient evidence to assert that the events of 1315-1317 were responsible for long-term economic and demographic trends.<sup>17</sup> Harvey questioned whether the fourteenth century could rightly be termed a period of 'crisis' and debated whether it is more appropriate to define the period as a short-term crisis, all too familiar to societies in which most producers work on the margins of subsistence.<sup>18</sup> She argued that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that resources were strained enough to lower the standards of living, but left to its own devices, the early fourteenth century could not have proved capable of fundamental long-term changes, comparable to those witnessed after the Black Death. Consequently, Harvey argues that the opening decades of the century should be viewed as a temporary fluctuation, rather than a turning point of any great significance.<sup>19</sup>

Such a conclusion is representative of a second school of thought, writing predominantly from the 1970s and 1980s, which sought to reinstate the emphasis of the Black Death as the cause for sudden population decline and any subsequent economic change. The argument re-establishing the importance of plague in 1348 is founded upon a similar methodology to Postan's work because it uses demographic evidence and changes in wage-rates and prices. In contrast however, it concludes that England faced widespread and devastating national decline due to an incomprehensible loss of life after the events of 1349-50, from which the country proved unable to recover in the course of the following centuries.<sup>20</sup> On the whole, this theory characterises the early fourteenth century as a period of stagnation and rusticity and emphasises

---

<sup>17</sup> B. F. Harvey, 'The Population Trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (1966), pp.25-28.

<sup>18</sup> B. F. Harvey, 'Introduction: the crisis of the early fourteenth century', in B.M.S. Campbell, *Before the Black Death*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.1-24.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey, 'Introduction', pp.20-24.

<sup>20</sup> See R. Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical society*, 27 (1977), pp.1-22; C. Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in P. Abrams, & E.A. Wrigley, (eds.), *Towns in Societies: Essays in economic history and historical sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.159-185.

the country's failure to repopulate after the Black Death. The second half of the century is characterised by short-term growth with a greater proportion of the country's inhabitants enjoying an elevated spending power, which increased the demand for more luxurious goods. Eventually, with no sign of revival in population, the economy could not be sustained, leading to widespread and prolonged decline throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Hatcher, a strong supporter of the theory that plague brought the turning point of the Middle Ages, found much evidence to support the interpretation that demographic decline was responsible for economic contraction. Ultimately, Hatcher argued that significant evidence of population trends highlights a necessity to 'rein back the exuberance with which historians have long sought to undermine the significance of the Black Death'.<sup>22</sup> Regional variation began to take a pivotal role in the understanding of economic fortunes and it has now been widely accepted that settlements of different sizes and locations felt varying repercussions to economic and demographic decline. Studies placing emphasis on locality include Charles Pythian Adams' work on Coventry and R. Britnell's seminal study on Colchester.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to the studies highlighting the extent of decline in various towns across England, A.R. Bridbury only found evidence of economic growth, with an increase in *per capita* wealth and a rise in the real value of wages throughout the later fourteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Bridbury supports the argument that the early fourteenth century suffered from overpopulation but highlights the advantages of this for landlords, whose estates remained prosperous with no vacant tenements.<sup>25</sup> Here any depopulation and accompanying deflation was negligible and brought no severe negative economic consequences. Bridbury's theory opposed the argument that depopulation through plague and funding the expensive Hundred Years War brought widespread economic contraction, an argument championed by E.B. Fryde and J.M. Maddicott, and concluded that taxation and population decline were not remarkable enough to make a difficult situation intolerable for the overwhelming majority of the population.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> See J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population, and the English Economy*, (Basingstoke, Macmillan Education, 1977).

<sup>22</sup> Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', p.32.

<sup>23</sup> See R. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester: 1300-1525*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); C. Pythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>24</sup> See A.R. Bridbury, *Economic growth: England in the Later Middle Ages*, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975).

<sup>25</sup> A.R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', *Economic History Review*, 30 (1977), p.403.

<sup>26</sup> See Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', p.410; E.B. Fryde, *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.250; J.R. Maddicott, 'The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341', *Past & Present Supplement 1*, (1975).



Bridbury's theory that the fourteenth century saw continued economic expansion despite demographic decline further supports the need for regional considerations and upholds the argument that decay in some towns did not mean widespread national turmoil. He highlighted that evidence of a reduced output per acre was not conducive to a reduced output per man.<sup>27</sup> Bridbury's research found much evidence to suggest an increase in the number of admissions to burgess status in towns after the Black Death, which indicates that the financial situation in the fourteenth century should be viewed as more of a transfer of wealth than total decline.<sup>28</sup> In summary, the theory suggested that the fourteenth century was a period of high prices, buoyant rents, and a distinct lack of vacant tenements. War, famine, and plague did not irreversibly and irreversibly change the social and economic structure of society. There was always a seemingly endless succession of people to take the place of those who died. Instead, Bridbury suggested that the post-Black Death period should be viewed as the 'Indian Summer' of demesne farming and that the status quo showed considerable resilience.<sup>29</sup>

### *The Monetarist Interpretation*

The monetarists' theory negates the severity of demographic contraction and asserts that the main determinant of economic trends in the fourteenth century was the output at English mints and the availability of both coin and credit. Under the remit of this theory, the availability of silver governed price levels and any deflation was a consequence of a decrease in the circulation of silver and the inability of gold to act as its substitute in transactions. The availability of coin is the bed-rock of the monetarist theory, first developed in the 1970s and 1980s. John Munro is a key proponent of the conclusion that population figures alone are not sufficient to explain the inflationary behaviour of prices from 1180. He attributed the rise in prices in the early fourteenth century to an expansion in the money supply, rather than overpopulation.<sup>30</sup> In a study of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, Mavis Mate drew similar conclusions and argued that, despite Postan's stance on demography, population cannot be wholly responsible for high prices in the opening decades of the fourteenth century. Instead, Mate argued that high prices were a response to the sudden import of silver to the English

---

<sup>27</sup> Bridbury, *Economic Growth*, p.46.

<sup>28</sup> Bridbury, *Economic Growth*, p.79.

<sup>29</sup> Bridbury, *Economic Growth*, p.79.

<sup>30</sup> J. Munro, 'Before and After the Black Death: Money prices and wages in fourteenth century England', *New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Proceedings of Two International Conferences at The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelser*, 104 (2004), pp.335-337.

mints, rather than insupportable population levels.<sup>31</sup> Price increases were not the result of a high demand but the consequence of an influx of foreign silver causing significant deflation.

Monetarists maintain that the decades following the Great Famine, namely the 1330s and 1340s, saw an unprecedented decline in the output from English mints, which caused a 35 per cent decline in the Phelps-Brown and Hopkins index.<sup>32</sup> Such a decline would have ensured a reduction in the real value of money as prices increased at a much greater rate than wages. According to Munro, deflationary pressure lasted until the fifteenth century as hordes of coin were sent abroad and foreign silver was of an inferior quality. Mate's study similarly testified to a reduction in output from English mints, which led to fewer coins in circulation.<sup>33</sup> Pamela Nightingale found similar results and argued that the state of urban economies in the later Middle Ages was inextricably linked to a shortage of silver and the inability of gold to replace it.<sup>34</sup> The previous era of high prices meant competition between the poorest. In comparison, when prices fell in the later fourteenth century, it was the richest in society who had the most to lose and could no longer secure lucrative profits. Decreased prices brought a shift in the power relations between peasant and landowner.<sup>35</sup>

### *The Issue of Credit*

The rise and use of credit networks, often assessed through an evaluation of debt litigation in borough court records, plays a significant role in the monetarist approach to economic change.<sup>36</sup> The problem associated with credit networks surrounds whether the availability of credit was directly tied to the existence of a fruitful money supply. To fully understand the

---

<sup>31</sup> Mate, 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth-Century England', pp.1-16.

<sup>32</sup> Munro, 'Before and After the Black Death', p.337.

<sup>33</sup> M. Mate, 'Coping with Inflation: a fourteenth century example', *Journal of Medieval History*, 4.1 (1978), pp.95-105.

<sup>34</sup> P. Nightingale, 'Gold, Credit and Mortality: distinguishing deflationary pressures on the late medieval English economy', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp.1081-1104.

<sup>35</sup> The link between high prices and high landowner profits has been upheld by many historians. See J.A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1957); R.A.L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: a study of monastic administration*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943). Mate however, contradicts Canterbury Priory's high profits in her research of the priory in the opening decades of the fourteenth century. High prices often increased an institution's spending more than it increased its returns. See M. Mate, 'Coping with Inflation', p.95.

<sup>36</sup> Britnell made extensive use of this resource in his work on Colchester. See Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp.98-115. For an example see D/B 5 Cr1-32 available at Essex Record Office. Other studies have used credit to evaluate and analyse economic performance. See P. Nightingale, 'Money and Credit in the Economy of Late Medieval England', *Medieval Money Matters*, (2004), pp.51-71; P. Schofield & N. Mayhew, *Credit and Debt in Medieval England, c.1180-1350*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002). For other studies evaluating credit, see C. Briggs, 'Credit and Village Society in Fourteenth Century England', *Oxford University Press Catalogue*, (2009); R. Goddard, *Credit and Trade in Later Medieval England, 1353-1532*, (New York: Springer, 2016).

implications of bullion shortages, it is first imperative to understand whether the use of credit could successfully extend the money supply or whether it was only available when there was a high volume of coin in circulation. Credit poses a significant problem to the monetarist argument. If it could be successfully proven that credit networks replace coin, it becomes insupportable that the availability of coin is the main determinant of economic performance. A strong component of the monetarist discourse is therefore that credit, which was widely used at all levels of society, was categorically restricted by the amount of coin in circulation. The existence of credit had to coincide with the volume of silver. Martin Allen asserts that there was a definitive correlation between the availability of credit and coin, whereby both would fall and rise simultaneously.<sup>37</sup> The logic behind this assertion is that merchants, and others in a prime financial position to lend money and extend credit networks, would only do so within an economic climate that promised a quick return on their investments. Confidence in the economy was fed by an ample money supply, which would encourage lending and credit. Conversely, when there was a lack of silver circulating in the economy, confidence in lending decreased.<sup>38</sup>

A rise in pleas of debt cases coinciding with bullion shortages would indicate that credit networks can extend the number of transactions and replace hard cash, which would contest the direct link between the availability of credit and coin. Such cases would suggest that credit may have counteracted the repercussions of a diminishing supply of silver and could have acted as a substitute for coin. When coin became scarce, credit could increase to compensate. Jim Bolton presents the argument that credit networks could be used as a tool to extend the monetary supply and so lessen the difficulties associated with a bullion famine.<sup>39</sup> Ultimately however, he supports the view that this interpretation is largely flawed as all credit transactions eventually had to be repaid in coin. The availability of credit was directly linked to fluctuations in the money supply.<sup>40</sup> Mayhew also supports this view and almost chastises critics by stating that ‘historians sometimes appear to have failed to grasp the fundamental point well known to both medieval and modern bankers: when money is tight, so too is credit; when money is plentiful, credit may easily be at hand’.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> M. Allen, ‘The Volume of English Currency, 1158-1470’, *The Economic History Review*, 54.4 (2001), pp.595-611.

<sup>38</sup> Allen, ‘The Volume of English Currency’, pp.595-611.

<sup>39</sup> J. Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973-1489*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.269.

<sup>40</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, p.8.

<sup>41</sup> N.J. Mayhew, ‘Prices in England: 1170-1750’, *Past & Present*, 219 (2013), p.11.

If the widespread use of credit suggests a stable supply of money, then an evaluation of trends in lending and credit facilitates an understanding of the strength of the economy. However, this is not without its problems. It remains to be determined whether a greater volume of debt cases implies a damaged economy or a thriving one. One interpretation is that an increase in the number of pleas of debt in court indicates that the economy could not support credit and was therefore weak with a higher number of transactions failing. However, it is more probable that rising indebtedness reflects increased willingness on part of the townsmen to allow credit in the normal course of their daily business.<sup>42</sup> Rather than viewing an abundance of debt as a sign of an increase in failed transactions, it should be viewed as a higher number of credit transactions occurring in the first place. The level of credit can therefore be used to determine the buoyancy of the economy. The research into debt has widely focussed on the post-Black Death period and revealed significant regional disparities. In accordance with the demographic interpretation, some areas saw a contraction in credit networks where others saw a growth.<sup>43</sup>

### *Towards a Synthesis?*

A focus on monetarist concerns found much opposition amongst demographers. Hatcher's main criticisms include the assertion that it is scarcely credible that the money supply had a more significant impact on prices and economic activity than the levels of population. He argued that demographic factors had a greater influence on prices and the use of credit because a reduced supply of coin could be rectified by an increased velocity of the remaining coins.<sup>44</sup> In other words, a lack of coin could be counteracted by a higher volume in transactions and an increase in the circulation and turnover of the existing silver. Throughout his work, Hatcher proposed a more complex analysis of the causes of economic depression, acknowledging the importance of both monetary and demographic concerns. Despite this, he remained unconvinced of the accuracy of mint output records, arguing that they represent a poor guide to the total stock of money.<sup>45</sup> To discredit the monetarist view, Hatcher argued that visitors to English shores repeatedly commented upon the huge quantities of silver and gold plate held in both private and institutional hands and found confirmation of this in wills. He questioned whether this could have been the case if there had been any significant monetary crisis.<sup>46</sup> Whilst downgrading any evidence of a bullion shortage, supporters of the demographic

---

<sup>42</sup> Britnell, *Growth and decline*, p.103.

<sup>43</sup> See for example Britnell, *Growth and decline*, pp.98-114.

<sup>44</sup> Hatcher, *Plague, Population*, p.53.

<sup>45</sup> Hatcher, *Plague, Population*, p.53.

<sup>46</sup> Hatcher, *Plague, Population*, p.53.

interpretation assert that supply and demand is the most important factor in determining the strength of the economy, which is governed by population levels.

Several other studies have tried to create a bridge between the monetarist and demographic interpretations of the fourteenth century economy and argue that it is not necessary to create such a stark contrast between the two theories. Bolton's study on money in the English economy synthesises much of these two arguments. He upholds the importance of monetary factors, which is reflected in the composition of his book where the time frame for each chapter is based upon the coinciding stability and availability of coin. However, Bolton places monetary factors within the demographic argument and concedes that mint outputs alone cannot be responsible for wider economic trends. Monetary factors were both a cause and consequence of demographic and institutionalised change.<sup>47</sup> Bolton's concluding argument draws parallels with Postan's earlier assertion that demography is both a cause and consequence of economic trends. Identifying the root cause of economic change in the fourteenth century is therefore a complex task and perhaps attempts to discover a sole or dominant determinant factor are fruitless. It is entirely plausible that both demographic and monetary factors were at play in the fourteenth century. Both were therefore jointly responsible for inflationary pressures in the early decades, and for subsequent problems associated with deflation; namely economic stagnation.

The research undertaken as part of this study contributes to this discussion and evaluates the extent to which famine and the Black Death affected the financial situation of Lincoln Cathedral and its diocese. It is possible to assess the financial performance of both the Cathedral and its tenants and debtors through an analysis of the common fund. The research analyses the Chapter's economic performance during famine, deflation, and plague to determine which event, if any, had a significant or durable impact on the financial performance of the Cathedral and its debtors. The study examines the famine of 1315-1317, deflation from the 1330s and 1340s, and the aftermath of the Black Death in 1349 to determine the extent of long-term shifts in the economic fortunes of the Cathedral and diocese and explores the Chapter's ability to withstand economic pressures. The research analyses the Cathedral Chapter's response to wider economic adversity and uses this to determine both the seriousness of these years and the success of the Chapter at minimising any negative consequences.

---

<sup>47</sup> See J. Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*; J. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy*, (Guildford: JM Dent, 1980), pp.80-81

Conclusions test the strength of the existing theories explored above and contribute to the discussion on fourteenth-century economic stability and the importance of addressing regional variation.

### *Profit and Loss: Economic Performance in the Fourteenth Century*

The first step in an analysis of Lincoln Cathedral's financial position in the fourteenth century amidst widespread economic and social pressures is an evaluation of the trends in surplus revenue over the period 1304-1386. The overall profit, or lack thereof, enables an understanding of the stability and performance of the institution. To put the Chapter's generated surplus into context, the value of the coinage in circulation is taken into consideration through incorporating the Phelps-Brown and Hopkin's index. It is not enough to know the surplus remaining at the end of the financial year, but its spending power and real value. Regardless of whether surplus increased over the period, if the value of money saw a greater decrease, the Chapter would be worse off in real terms. To provide a point of reference, Bolton and Durham priories are used as a comparison. Both institutions offer a wealth of economic evidence, accompanied by thorough analysis from Ian Kershaw and Alisdair Dobie respectively.<sup>48</sup> In particular, Durham's economic performance is well documented in the fourteenth century, which can be used to determine whether patterns observed in the Lincoln records should be seen in isolation or are representative of more national trends and results.

The data available for such an analysis on Lincoln Cathedral finances, with the exception of a few missing years, ranges from 1304-1346. There is then a break in the data in 1357, which is followed by continuous records until 1386. It is unfortunate that more evidence does not exist to coincide directly with the plague years between 1348 and the early 1350s, but perhaps this is not a coincidence. It is possible that accounting procedures fell into disarray during the years dogged by such a severe and widespread epidemic. Officials responsible for the compilation of financial records may have died during the plague, or perhaps normal practice could not be enforced during such turbulent times. Nevertheless, in spite of gaps in the data available, the study can still draw important conclusions on the long-term effects of both famine and plague to determine the existence of a financial crisis at Lincoln in the fourteenth century.

---

<sup>48</sup> See I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); A. Dobie, *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory: Management and Control of a Major Ecclesiastical Corporation, 1083-1539*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Ian Kershaw's study on Bolton Cathedral Priory's finances analyses the economic fortunes of the priory in the decades leading to the Great Famine of 1315-17. He found that the institution was unable to withstand the socio-economic upheaval witnessed at the close of the second decade of the fourteenth century, which resulted in lay guardians seizing control and the disbandment of the order of monks inhabiting and maintaining the building and grounds. In stark contrast to the late 1310s, Kershaw found that Bolton Priory earned a total of £461 a year between 1305 and 1315, which represented the most prosperous decade in the priory's economic history. The years directly preceding the famine were economically prosperous, but the short-term shocks brought about by the tumultuous years at the close of the second decade of the fourteenth century created such significant economic hardship that the priory was unable to continue.<sup>49</sup> Kershaw's study demonstrated the potential damage inflicted on religious institutions whose livelihoods were dependent upon the agricultural sector during a period of famine and dearth. Despite immediately following a particularly lucrative period, Bolton Priory did not have sufficient funds in reserve to struggle through only a small number of unprecedented poor harvests. Its fortunes hung in the balance, and the economic situation of the priory was therefore highly precarious.<sup>50</sup>

Financial collapse was not the sole response of religious institutions in the face of famine and dearth. The accounts of Canterbury Cathedral priory, studied by R.A.L Smith, testify to an economically stable institution throughout the early fourteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, Alisdair Dobie's analysis of Durham Cathedral Priory, for which extensive financial evidence is available from the Bursar account records, also found much evidence of economic stability. Durham Cathedral Priory recorded the expected revenue and expenditure, rather than the exact totals earned and spent, which was the practice in the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. Durham Priory had the potential to be a highly lucrative institution, generating a possible yearly revenue of £1728 between 1310 and 1400.<sup>52</sup> Before the onset of famine, the records available in 1310 indicate that potential sums reached £2460, highlighting that the institution could profit from high population levels and buoyant prices in the opening years of the century. Total potential revenue however, fell to only £1500 between 1318 and

---

<sup>49</sup> Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp.15-16.

<sup>50</sup> In a separate study, which has been accepted pending revisions for publication in the *Accounting History Review*, I argue that the Priory's fortunes were perhaps inextricably linked with the inability of its monks to effectively manage finances. Disbandment was not a regular occurrence amongst other religious institutions.

<sup>51</sup> See R.A.L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory*.

<sup>52</sup> Durham's ecclesiastical accounts differ to the common fund accounts at Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. They record expected revenue and expenditure, rather than the sums physically earned and spent, which was also seen at Beaulieu Abbey in the late thirteenth century. See Dobie, *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory*, p.158

1339. The reduction suggests that famine and deflation worsened the priory's fortunes. In the latter half of the century, Durham's expected revenue significantly increased to an average of £1755.<sup>53</sup> The rise in receipts generated throughout the 1360s and 1370s suggests that the widespread population decline did not hinder the economic performance of Durham Cathedral Priory. Revenue did not return to a pre-famine level, but the priory was able to increase its expected revenue in the later fourteenth century.

The picture portrayed through an analysis of income is altered with a consideration of expenditure. Despite the high level of potential revenue received at Durham Priory in the year 1310-1311 as shown in Figure One, even higher spending brought an overall deficit of £150. Comparatively, in the years shortly after the famine, a reduction in expenditure exceeded the decline in revenue. The year 1318-1319 was one of the most profitable years in the fourteenth century, amounting to a surplus £199. The average amount of expenditure in the second half of the century equalled approximately £1610, which left a smaller surplus of £145.<sup>54</sup> If economic performance is judged in terms of surplus revenue, the famine years presented the most stable period. Durham Priory's ability to withstand economic pressure during significant food shortages, unlike its counterpart in Bolton, highlights the need for increased localised studies to further understand the impact of economic shocks on the performance of institutions. The results indicate that famine did not inevitably bring unmitigated disaster. Decisions to limit expenditure and spend with an institution's means effectively minimised or reduced financial risks and threats. The case study of Durham also demonstrates the importance of refraining from a sole reliance upon generated surplus. The priory's reaction to economic change, which seemingly prevented unnecessary or superfluous spending in the late 1310s, may have protected an overall surplus but may not have been a viable long-term plan. It is necessary to take revenue and expenditure into consideration separately, without a sole focus on surplus, to fully understand the economic performance of an institution.

Analysis of the trends found at Durham Cathedral Priory reveal that expenses and income follow identical patterns. As shown in Figure One, the expenditure and revenue of the priory between 1278 and 1360 were almost the same each year. The monks in charge of the priory's finances were adept at balancing spending and receipts. On two occasions, 1278 and 1310, this practice was mismanaged, and the priory consequently fell into debt when expenses were

---

<sup>53</sup> Dobie, *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory*, p.132-3.

<sup>54</sup> Dobie, *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory*, p.136.



greater than revenue. It appears that receipts and expenditure were very closely matched, indicating careful monitoring of the cash position. Accounts were finely tuned to ensure that receipts and expenses were largely in equilibrium with a modest surplus or deficit being generated. Officials appear to have been highly conscious of expected income and able to plan finances accordingly. It is unlikely to have been a coincidence that receipts and expenditure were so closely matched. Officials clearly had an active role in attempting to balance the books. The ability of officials in influencing the financial stability of their institution is an indication that a degree of human agency should be considered when evaluating the implications of economic records.<sup>55</sup>

### *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter in the Fourteenth Century*

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter was the largest secular chapter in the country. It was comprised of fifty-eight canons, all of whom earned a living from the prebendal estate that the king or pope had allocated to them. In comparison, the average number of canons across the other eight secular cathedrals of Salisbury, Wells, York, St Pauls, Lichfield, Chichester, Exeter and Hereford, was thirty-eight.<sup>56</sup> Not all estates were equal. Often, the earlier a king or pope established a prebend to accommodate a canon, the larger the endowed land. Prebends created later were often smaller parcels of farmland. Edward's research indicated that kings and popes frequently appointed an excess of canons, who then had to temporarily serve in the vicars choral to await a vacant prebend.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, very little is known on individual canons, largely due to insufficient evidence. Broader studies on secular cathedrals, such as those undertaken by Edwards and Lepine, have argued that canons were a miscellaneous group of men, who came from a variety of beginnings, social positions and occupations. Unlike in France, where a canon had to be of noble birth, England's secular canons came from varying ranks of society. Any free man had the potential to serve as a canon in a secular chapter.<sup>58</sup>

---

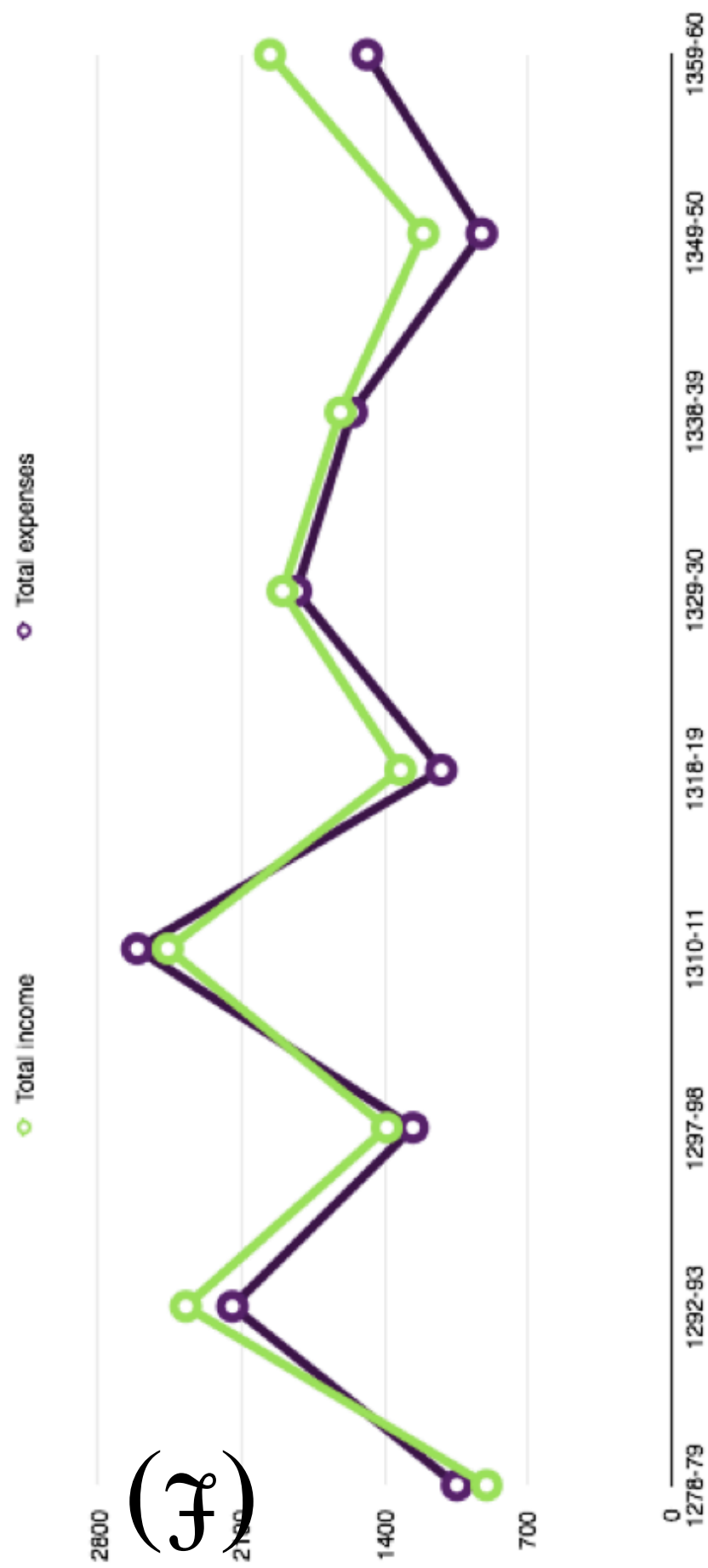
<sup>55</sup> I discuss this further in a forthcoming article, which has been accepted pending revisions by the Accounting History Review. The article, titled 'Accounting for Change: the economic performance of Lincoln Cathedral in the early fourteenth century', explores the varying accounting practices available to officials to allow them some autonomy in their institutions' financial performance. The article explores how the layout of the accounts, the standardised language and content, and the use of tributary accounts allowed officials to notice, pre-empt and react to any suspicious or undesired threat to the economic performance of the institution.

<sup>56</sup> K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), p.33; D. Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), pp.1-6.

<sup>57</sup> Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p.34.

<sup>58</sup> Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p.34; Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons*, pp.66-86.

Figure One: Revenue and Expenditure and Durham Cathedral Priory, 1278-1360.



A minority of these canons in possession of a prebendal estate then became part of the resident body of canons who maintained services at the Cathedral. This community of resident canons responsible for the Cathedral Chapter's daily business was more exclusive and much smaller. At Lincoln, for example, each year a group of between eight and ten canons maintained religious services and ensured the financial security of the institution. Resident canons not only earned their living from the fruits of their prebend but also benefitted from an equal distribution of the proceeds of the common fund and received donations from wills and post-mortem wishes.<sup>59</sup> Much of their income was needed to fund lavish banquets due to strict obligations of hospitality for resident canons. Such an obligation highlights the varied and broad skillset required of a fourteenth century secular canon. They not only had to be devout and learned in the faith but capable negotiators to handle the Chapter's affairs, able administrators and financial officials, astute lawyers and competent preachers with a flair for entertaining.<sup>60</sup>

This chapter demonstrates the complexities of the canons' responsibility to maintain the economic performance and stability of the cathedral. The range of sources of revenue and expenditure suggest that monitoring the financial position of the institution took significant organisation and skill. The Chapter generated income through farming, tithes, tax and gifts and spent sums on hospitality, charity, fees, building repairs and payments to personnel. An overview of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's common fund accounts testifies to a stable and profitable organisation. On average over the period 1304-1386, the Chapter earned a total of £1107 a year; a figure which undoubtedly indicates a substantial economic institution in the fourteenth century. Over the same period, the Chapter spent an average of £720, which left a sizeable annual surplus of £387. In comparison to Durham Cathedral Priory, the potential revenue at Lincoln was significantly smaller, but surplus considerably larger. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter were never in debt over the course of the century and revenue always comfortably outweighed expenditure. The large remaining surplus at Lincoln, and the Chapter's ability to prevent debt, suggests that it was a successful economic institution and able to effectively safeguard profit. The Chapter arguably enjoyed a high level of financial security. Such a significant amount of remaining surplus at Lincoln in comparison to its monastic counterpart perhaps indicates that secular institutions were more inclined to work to protect a profit when canons responsible for daily tasks personally benefited. The regular

---

<sup>59</sup> Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p.56.

<sup>60</sup> Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p.67.

canons at Lincoln received an equal share of all remaining coin, and so had a stronger vested interest in the financial wellbeing of the Cathedral. In contrast, the orders of monks inhabiting monasteries and priories held all goods in common and had declared vows of poverty. They had no personal financial gain at stake and thus saw no economic reward if the institution retained a substantial surplus.<sup>61</sup>

A study on the efficacy of the Chapter's accounting strategies and practices demonstrated that officials were able and astute administrators and mathematicians. Canons devised management and accounting techniques to successfully keep detailed, transparent records. Standardised and formulaic content, regular audits and an effective centralised system of record-keeping ensured the Chapter was well-placed to react to signs of any economic change. Officials were able to estimate revenue and spending to best manage their assets and debts. Figure Two, which tracks income and expenditure between 1304-1386, indicates the relative stability of the Chapter's income. There were only a few years that defied the gradually increasing trend in surplus and revenue only experienced minor fluctuations. The graph also highlights the extent to which expenditure largely follows an identical pattern, suggesting that there was a relationship between revenue and expenditure. In a comparable manner to the trends observed at Durham, the consistency and similarity with which revenue and expenditure rose and fell suggests that the Chapter either raised income to cover their necessary and predicted outgoings, or distributed funds according to their expected revenue.

An understanding of the degree of variance in the Chapter's income and outgoings can be used to determine whether canons spent what they could afford or raised enough money to cover necessary expenses. It is probable that the Chapter's economic decisions to increase earnings or limit spending were based upon whichever saw the least variation, which would have facilitated more reliable predictions. If income was constant, it is likely that expenditure was reduced in times of low returns. Comparatively, if expenditure remained relatively stable, it is more likely that the Cathedral raised funds in years where extraordinary payments were

---

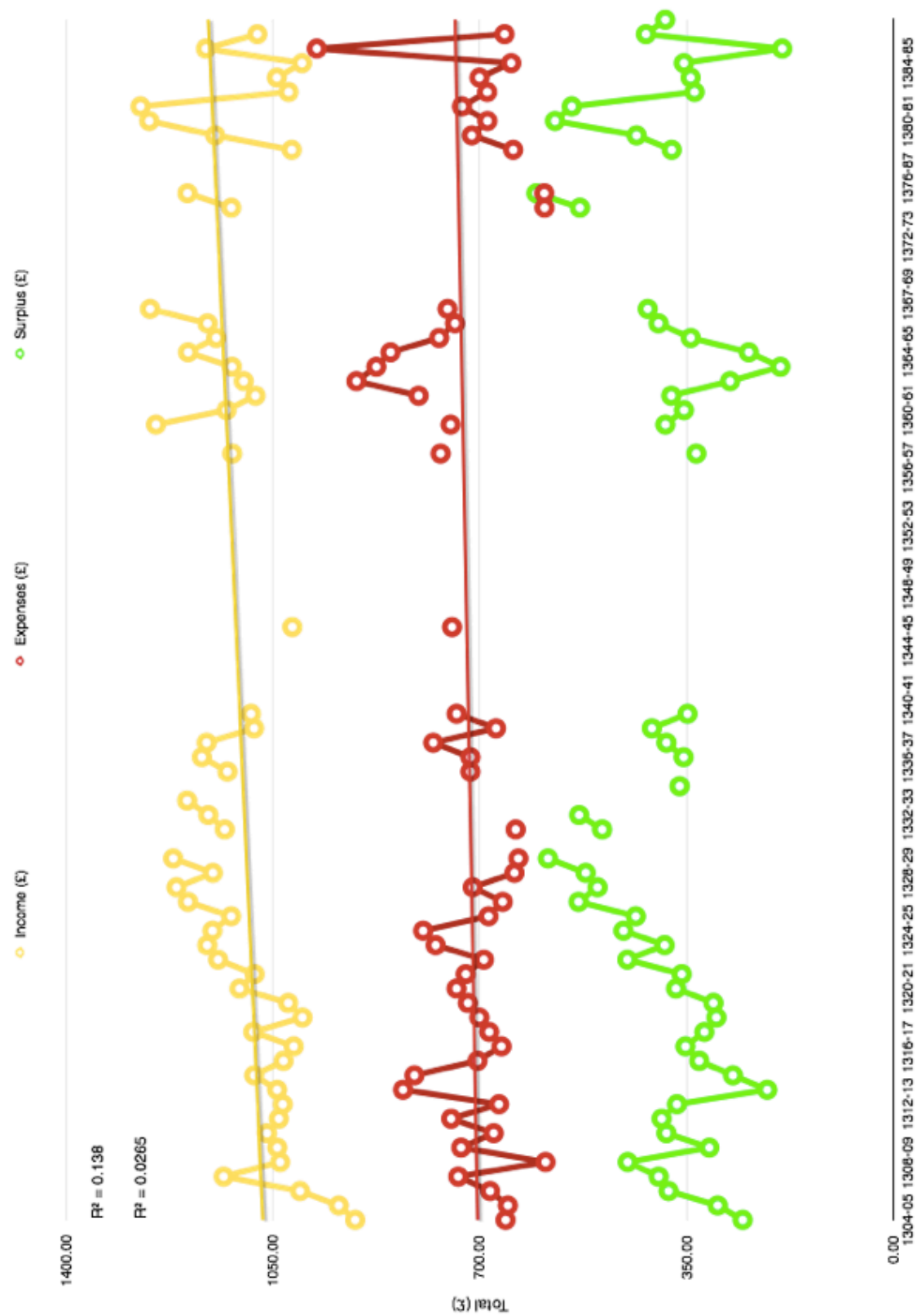
<sup>61</sup> A comparative analysis of the spending habits of both monastic and secular religious houses is worthy of its own independent study and stretches beyond the scope of the chapter presented here. An understanding of whether the canons' vested interest had a decisive impact on the financial decision-making of the common fund would involve a deep analysis on whether there exists sufficient evidence to conclusively argue that priories and monasteries chose to spend funds on items or repairs where secular cathedrals refrained in pursuit of maximising surplus. It would also involve an analysis on the burden of providing monks with subsistence. The evidence necessary for such a comparative study is made available through the common fund of Lincoln Cathedral and the bursar and terrar accounts at Durham. A future project using these records hopes to determine the extent to which secular canons were consciously and evidently pursuing and protecting profit.

required. An estimation of the degree of variance in yearly receipts and expenditure is expressed through the value of  $R^2$ . The closer to the value to one, the less fluctuation from the trend line. An  $R^2$  value of one would mean that all values fall exactly on the trend line.  $R^2$  is a similar calculation to standard deviation but takes long-term trends into consideration. Standard deviation, on the other hand, works from a constant mean value. With a long-term increase in both revenue and spending over the course of the fourteenth century,  $R^2$  gives the most accurate reading of variance. The  $R^2$  value for income between 1304 and 1386 is 0.14 compared to 0.03 for expenditure. There was increased variance for the level of expected expenditure, which indicates that expenses were more difficult to stabilise and predict. Increased variation and less certainty in the level of funds spent each year suggests that the Chapter would have estimated revenue and based spending upon this amount. Less variation in the level of revenue each year afforded the Chapter some confidence in their ability to predict the level of returns expected in any given year.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> The accounts suggest that officials predicted future earnings using many annotations in the margin, which perhaps indicates estimating future returns. The forthcoming article 'Accounting for Change' looks at this in more detail and finds similar annotations in the records of Durham Cathedral Priory, which were arguably also used to forecast future earning and spending.

Figure Two: Revenue, Expenditure, and Surplus in first round of Receipts at Lincoln Cathedral, 1304-1386.



The lower  $R^2$  value for spending reflects the increased likelihood of extraordinary expenses, which is also highlighted in Figure Two. The Chapter frequently saw single intermittent years of exceptionally and unusually high levels of spending. For example, 1313-1315 and 1324-1326 represent considerably more expensive years for the Cathedral Chapter. In comparison, the interim years of 1315-1324 were relatively stagnant. The first anomalous years of excessively high spending were a consequence of sudden increases in a few specific and costly items of expenditure. In 1313-1314, the Chapter spent over £72 on court related expenses, more than £45 above average. The bulk of this significantly higher sum was the result of a payment made to the king for confirming to Lincoln Cathedral the rights of the four chapels of Burton near Aylesbury, Querendon, Stoke, and Buckland.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, in 1314-1315, the Chapter spent an excessive sum of over £107 on gifts, which was significantly higher than the average of £9 gifted over the course of the fourteenth century. £33 was gifted to Thomas Lancaster, who held the title Earl of Lincoln in 1314, and a further £61 was given to King Edward II. In addition, both the years 1313-1314 and 1314-1315 were costlier in terms of obits. £50 more than average was spent in these years to provide such services.<sup>64</sup> Although these sums do not fully explain the increased spending in the years between 1313 and 1315, it highlights that a few extraordinary and costly burdens were responsible for making the year excessively expensive. It was not the result of a wide increase in prices more generally.

In contrast to this, there is no single itemised source of expenditure in the years between 1324 and 1326 to suggest a similar explanation for heightened spending. Instead, an analysis of the yearly expenditure reveals that a high proportion of expenses all slightly increased. Perhaps these years, which marked the end of the Great Famine, saw the Chapter relax on spending as their income recovered and the economy stabilised. It is possible that the Chapter settled any debts incurred in the early 1320s, which they had been unable to pay during the years affected by famine. Prices remained high in the early 1320s, with recurrent bouts of famine, but the Chapter's personnel were more confident in the level of expected revenue and so were prepared to spend. Analysis of the price index made available by Phelps-Brown and Hopkins indicates that there was a substantial increase in prices in the year 1323, which was likely linked to food shortages.<sup>65</sup> The rise here demonstrates that the Chapter was highly susceptible to market

---

<sup>63</sup> See Bi/2/4 f.105.

<sup>64</sup> Gifts to elite figures and the distribution of obits are discussed more in Chapter Five. For evidence of the Chapter's gifts to the King and Thomas Lancaster see Bi/2/4 ff.95,105.

<sup>65</sup> E.H. Phelps-Brown & S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Prices and Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage-Rates', *Economica*, 23.92 (1956), p.311.

changes. A short-term increase in prices is reflected in a coinciding rise in the institution's spending. Evidence suggests that the Chapter could withstand the famine through avoiding unnecessary spending. In the aftermath of famine, prices remained high but the canons were able to relax their frugal attitudes towards spending.

The overall position of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter in the fourteenth century testifies to a substantial institution. It generated a comfortable surplus, even in times of widespread economic insecurity and saw a long-term increase in its potential to generate revenue. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter appears to have been a largely successful organisation; proving resilient to the recurrent financial shocks throughout the century. Human agency arguably played a substantial role in its performance, which the practice to limit spending when resources were not easily at hand demonstrates. The study now analyses long-term trends in more depth to further understand the consequences of famine, bullion shortages, and plague on the ability of the Cathedral Chapter to extract funds and manage finances. The financial performance of Lincoln Cathedral not only informs us on the wellbeing of large landowning institutions throughout famine and plague, but can also be used to measure the economic position of the many individuals indebted to the Cathedral for rents and tithes.<sup>66</sup> The common fund reveals the Cathedral Chapter's ability to extract funds from labourers and tenants in both rural and urban settlements, which has implications for the capacity of Lincoln's inhabitants to pay rents and settle debts. The Chapter continued to extract resources from the laity of its diocese, which suggests that Lincoln and the surrounding area saw resiliency in the face of famine and plague. If individuals had been unable to pay rents or tithes, due to death, disease or poverty, the Chapter could not have accumulated its wealth.

### *The Management of Arrears*

An analysis of the payments falling into arrears over the fourteenth century furthers understanding of the financial position of Lincoln Cathedral during famine, deflation, and plague. It is important to take arrears into consideration in order to determine the level of expected income and expenditure. The economically turbulent events of the fourteenth century had an observable impact on the Chapter's ability to collect payments in arrears, which again has implications for the economic position of tenants and debtors throughout the diocese. An evaluation of the arrears section determines the proportion of revenue falling into arrears and

---

<sup>66</sup> A later section of this chapter discusses trends in rent and tithes in more depth.



Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's ability to raise rents and dues, which had failed to be collected in the first round of accounts. Alisdair Dobie has addressed the importance of taking arrears into consideration when attempting to analyse the economic performance of an institution. His research into Durham Cathedral Priory between 1278 and 1418 revealed that neglecting uncollected dues could lead to very misleading results, which is a trap that multiple preceding studies had fallen into. Without fully understanding the extent of uncollected dues, the revenue generated appears exaggerated.<sup>67</sup>

A comparison of the management of late payments elsewhere highlights the importance of assessing arrears to understand an institution's economic performance. Durham and Lincoln followed different procedures when dealing with revenue, expenditure and arrears, which again offers an insight into the potential differences between monastic and secular religious institutions. Durham placed emphasis on expected revenue and expenditure. Officials recorded what was due and owed, instead of what was physically collected and distributed, which was the practice at Lincoln. Arrears at Durham priory were therefore incorporated within the main body of the accounts, and do not have a separate section. The fact that totals include all expected payments, as opposed to just those successfully raised, is made apparent in the balancing off section of the accounts, where the remaining profit or loss does not equate to the revenue due minus the expenditure.<sup>68</sup> This is therefore very misleading as it could give the impression that the priory generated a huge and exaggerated income each year. In 1297-1298, for example, a total of £6160 was owed to the priory. The institution spent £2610, which should have left a substantial surplus of £3550. However, uncollected payments, which had culminated from numerous preceding years, surmounted to £3546 and thus restricted the priory's collected revenue to only £2614 and the remaining profit to a mere £4.<sup>69</sup> Only with a full consideration of the arrears section can the true financial situation of the priory be understood.

The common fund accounts' logical and standardised layout remains apparent within the arrears section of the records. After surplus collected from the first round of receipts and expenditure had been divided amongst the canons in residence, the scribe then noted all outstanding payments, which dated from several preceding years. The payments collected late

---

<sup>67</sup> Dobie, *Accounting at Durham*, p.166. See D. Knowles, *The Religious Order in England*, vol.II, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), p.317; M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p.305.

<sup>68</sup> Dobie, *Accounting at Durham*, p.158.

<sup>69</sup> Dobie, *Accounting at Durham*, p.168.

from each financial year were itemised and divided between the canons who were in residence for that term. The scribe divided the current year's arrears first, which was then followed by all amounts collected due from any preceding years. In 1304-1305 for example, in addition to the first round of receipts, a further £143 of income remained uncollected, which represented 13.5 per cent of the expected income for the financial year. The accounts then recorded how much of this sum the Chapter successfully raised, and from what sources. The order of receipts within the arrears section followed a very similar pattern to the order of revenue found in the income section, with a similar use of subheadings to separate each form of revenue. Tithes and farming followed rents, and any late payments from non-resident canons were found at the end. The scribe also explicitly stated the amount of money still left outstanding for each source of revenue and which debts should be written off. For example, from the rent payments collected late in the year 1304-1305, the Chapter successfully raised 62s. 4d. from rents outside the city, which left a further total of £12 12s. 10 d. outstanding. This remaining total was then divided into a further two categories. The first is those payments to be carried over into subsequent years and the second noted those debts to be written off as impossible to collect; using the phrase *quibus non est spes* - for which there is no hope.<sup>70</sup>

Before payments collected in arrears were distributed between resident canons, any payments that the Chapter owed in arrears were also settled. The year 1304-1305 raised £87 16s. 10d. in arrears with £68 2s. 11d. left outstanding, of which there was only hope for £20 14s. and 1d. Then £25 13s. 4d. was subtracted to pay the Chapter's debts, which left a total of £62 3s. 6d. to be divided amongst the thirteen canons in residence, who received an equal share of £4 15s. 6d.<sup>71</sup> Although the logistics of such calculations seem complex, the accounts are highly accurate and allow for a more nuanced understanding of the institution's economic performance. The accounts do not only make an analysis of the Chapter's actual receipts and expenditure possible, but an overview of what was expected. Through an analysis of the arrears section, it is possible to determine the Chapter's efficacy and efficiency when collecting assets and paying debts.

A recurrent observation throughout the accounts is the relative lack of the Chapter's debts falling into arrears in comparison to their receipts, which suggests that the institution was largely on time when spending. In fact, it is highly likely that any evidence of the Chapter's

---

<sup>70</sup> See Bi/2/4 f.6.

<sup>71</sup> Bi/2/4 f.6.

debt appearing in the arrears section was only due to be paid in the time taken to collate the accounts. It would have taken a few weeks for the scribe to compile the accounts, which had to be completed by Michaelmas (September 29<sup>th</sup>). Any transactions which took place during this time would have to have been recorded in the arrears section. The Chapter collected far more payments in arrears than they owed. Compared to the 13.5 per cent of revenue falling into arrears, canons only let 3.5 per cent of their own debts fall behind, which highlights the efficiency of officials to pay promptly and perhaps signals that the Chapter did not rely on credit networks to fund purchases. Their record at keeping unpaid debts at a minimal level suggests that they largely dealt with transactions on the spot rather than promising funds at a later date.

The process to calculate arrears levied, debts owed, and payments written off is then repeated for any preceding years in chronological order, beginning with the oldest debts. For example, in the 1304-1305 accounts, arrears were included from 1293-1297 and 1302-1303.<sup>72</sup> The existence of revenue in arrears before 1304 suggests that the accounts' existence pre-dates the earliest surviving records. There was not a sudden change in administrative practice in 1304, which led to a new type of accounting format. The sections relating to older arrears are much more succinct and typically just list the sums raised. Under each year, the amount successfully raised is distributed between the canons who were in residence in that year. For example, the canons who had been in residence in 1292-1293 received an equal share of the £10 collected in 1304-1305, which the accounts stipulated was 15s. 4d. each.<sup>73</sup>

The type of income falling into arrears also remained relatively constant each year, which suggests that the Chapter had likely suspects when it came to late payments. For example, the tithes from Glentham and the parish of Saint Nicholas in Lincoln consistently fell into arrears each year. There was a definite regularity regarding outstanding payments and the Cathedral's officials were likely to have been able to predict which payments would not be successfully raised in the first round of receipts. Particular individuals or entire settlements had recurrent issues in paying debts on time. It is possible that officials only ventured to such areas to collect payments after accounting for the first round of receipts had already begun (i.e. in late August). This would suggest that the payments were not necessarily late but were due too late to be included within the main body of the accounts. However, some of the revenue from sources

---

<sup>72</sup> Bi/2/4 f.6.

<sup>73</sup> Bi/2/4 f.7.

consistently appearing in the arrears section was successfully collected during the first round of accounts and significant portions were written off, which indicates that there were problems settling these debts.

It was common practice for both Lincoln and Durham Cathedral to keep records of old and outstanding arrears in attempt to recollect them, which perhaps represents wider practices elsewhere. In addition, both Lincoln and Durham accounts cleared some old debts, which were deemed impossible to collect. At Durham however, the Chapter periodically erased all debts. This is likely to have happened in 1318 where the total arrears fell from £3546 to £216.<sup>74</sup> Lincoln's officials took each payment into individual consideration to determine whether it was worth the time and effort to attempt to raise at a later date. The entirety of old and accumulated arrears was never completely reset at Lincoln; it was a more ongoing process to regularly decide for which debts it was worth keeping track. The difference in policy could again be linked to the canons' vested interest. At Durham, emphasis was placed more upon the overall potential of the institution as monks had no personal claim to the funds generated. Maximising the actual totals successfully raised was of greater importance to Lincoln Chapter as it had a direct effect on individual economic fortunes.

The arrears section provides evidence to suggest that Lincoln Cathedral Chapter was successful in preventing late payments and was meticulous in recording old debts. Despite some yearly fluctuation, the entire fourteenth century saw a very similar proportion of the Chapter's income fall into arrears. Between 1304 and 1340, 13 per cent of the expected income was not raised in the first round of receipts. During the post-Black Death period, this only rose slightly to 16 per cent. Evidence also highlights that the Chapter managed to secure the majority of these late payments whilst compiling the records, and therefore prevented many debts accumulating. Between 1304 and 1386, the Chapter had a 70 per cent success rate of securing all late payments accrued during the financial year. Less than 30 per cent of payments which fell into arrears had to be carried over into subsequent years.

---

<sup>74</sup> Dobie, *Accounting at Durham*, p.168.

Table One: Revenue, Expenditure, Surplus and Arrears at Lincoln Cathedral Chapter.<sup>75</sup>

	Income (£)	Expenditure (£)	First Round Surplus (£)	Non-resident Canons (£)	Arrears Raised (£)	Total Collected Surplus (£)	Uncollected Arrears (£)	Total Arrears (£)	Potential Surplus
Pre-Famine: 1304-1314	1029.11	691.47	337.64	48.45	104.55	490.64	51.37	155.92	542.01
Famine: 1315-1320	1030.40	709.93	320.47	38.56	91.94	451.20	56.49	148.43	507.69
Pre-Black Death: 1321-1346	1134.40	698.37	436.03	44.17	145.76	625.96	39.14	184.90	665.10
Post-Black Death (i): 1358-1369	1154.65	823.26	331.39	125.80	167.58	624.77	59.51	227.09	684.28
Post-Black Death (ii): 1374-1386	1119.67	692.60	427.07						
Average 1304-1386	1093.65	723.13	370.52	64.25	127.46	562.23	51.63	179.09	613.86

<sup>75</sup> The Chapter made frequent miscalculations when calculating their subtotals of expenditure. Surplus and revenue were accurate, with very precise totals offered to each resident canon. For the purposes of this research, the expenditure figure shown is the calculated value and not the value stipulated by the canons in the accounts.

### *Lincoln Cathedral Chapter during Famine and Plague*

A closer evaluation of trends in the Chapter's earning and spending reveals distinct periods of economic stability and uncertainty throughout the fourteenth century. The fortunes of the Chapter can largely be divided into four main periods, as Table One demonstrates. The first is the pre-famine era between 1304 and 1314 and the remainder of the second decade marks the period of famine. The years between famine and plague define the third period between 1321 and 1347 and then the final period relates to the post-Black Death era. Table One shows the Chapter's average revenue, expenditure, and surplus in the first round of receipts over each time frame. It then details non-resident canons' payments from their prebendal estates and any payments successfully raised from arrears to give the total surplus each year. The table then includes the remainder of payments outstanding to highlight the total potential earnings for each period. This breakdown of averages can be used to effectively test current theories on the economic performance of Lincoln in the fourteenth century. Following Francis Hill's seminal study on Lincoln, successive studies have suggested that Lincoln saw immediate and unprecedented decline in the aftermath of plague.<sup>76</sup> On the contrary, the finances of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter not only testify to a stable institution throughout the fourteenth century but the ease with which officials were able to extract rents and payments from debtors indicates that the entire diocese remained buoyant and economically secure.

Table One demonstrates the effect of widespread food shortages and dearth on the Chapter's financial situation between 1315 and 1320. In the first round of receipts and expenditure, there was no significant change in the level of revenue. There was only a marginal increase between 1315 to 1320 from £1029 to £1030. Increased spending, however, affected the level of surplus. Raised expenses were not the result of a few extraordinary items but a higher cost of living. Many forms of expenditure all increased. A drop in the ability of canons to pay their prebendal tax and a drop in the level of payments raised in arrears brought an 8 percent reduction in the level of remaining coin to distribute between resident canons. There was a decrease in the total value of revenue falling into arrears but a sharper reduction in canons' ability to collect late payments. Total arrears fell from an average of £156 between 1304 and 1314 to £148 between 1315 and 1320 but the arrears successfully raised by the Chapter also fell from £105 to £92.

---

<sup>76</sup> A. Kissane argues that Rigby wrongly uses Lincoln as a 'yardstick', against which to measure the extent of urban decline. See A. Kissane, *Civic Community in Late Medieval Lincoln: Urban society and economy in the age of the Black Death, 1289-1490*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), p.10; S.H. Rigby, 'Store Decay and 'Fair Dwellings': Boston and Urban Decline in the Later Middle Ages', *Midland History*, 18 (1995), pp.52-55. See J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.251-6, 270-3, 286-8.

Steady revenue in the first round of receipts but a decline in the collection of late payments arguably suggests that the famine most affected those debtors who were least likely to pay their debts on time.

Table One suggests that potential surplus revenue during the famine period was much reduced. If the Chapter had successfully raised 100 per cent of its receipts, its surplus would have been £100 less than the average over the entire period. During famine, there was simply not the revenue to collect. The decrease in surplus is significant and suggests that famine did bring a certain level of economic hardship, but the Chapter remained financially stable. An average annual profit of over £450 still ensured a substantial sum to be distributed amongst the canons and the institution was not in danger of collapse, in a similar manner to Bolton Priory. The changes to the Chapter's accounts are not sufficient to denote a crisis. Famine may have brought a more difficult economic climate, but it was not intolerable.

An evaluation of arrears also highlights trends in the sources of revenue that the Chapter found most problematic to collect. In particular, the famine ensured that non-resident canons had difficulty paying the Chapter from the fruits of their prebends. Non-resident canon payments were the most significant aspect of the arrears section, accounting for 40 per cent of all late payments over the course of the fourteenth century. Despite the canons being the most likely candidates to fall into debt for their prebends, the evidence suggests that they were relatively easy receipts to collect and the Chapter had a high success rate of collecting such late payments. In the opening decades of the fourteenth century, the Chapter successfully collected 80 per cent of non-resident canon payments in arrears. The high number of non-resident canons appearing in the arrears section of the accounts perhaps demonstrates that most paid their tax to the Chapter after the harvest (i.e. in Autumn) when they would have had coin most readily available, but the compilation of accounts had already begun. However, during the famine years of 1315-1317, this decreased to only 74 per cent. Canons earned their living from estates that the Cathedral allocated to them, from which they were obligated to pay the Chapter a seventh of the proceeds. Their livelihoods were predominantly dependent upon the success of arable and pastoral farming. The inability of non-resident canons to pay debts on time perhaps reflects the troubles facing farming during the famine years. Arguably the obligation of a seventh of their profits became too burdensome for some canons.

As Table One demonstrates, famine had no real long-term consequences on the Cathedral Chapter's financial stability and economic performance. In accordance with Harvey's findings,

it presented a brief period of economic hardship, but normality soon resumed.<sup>77</sup> In fact, the period following the tumultuous few years of unprecedented food shortages was one of the most prosperous for the Cathedral Chapter. If the years 1315-1317 did present a significant demographic crisis, it is not apparent in the Chapter's ability to remain financially afloat. The Chapter only suffered temporarily during the years directly affected by dearth and famine, which was largely the result of heightened spending, rather than depressed revenue. Perhaps relatively stable levels of revenue indicate that increased prices between 1315 and 1320 counteracted any problems associated with low yields. Famine may have reduced the amount of crop available for purchase but improved market conditions for the seller ensured that the Chapter were able to make more profit from less produce. The evidence has significant implications for Lincoln's tenants and debtors in the diocese. The fact that the Chapter resumed their previous accounting practices directly after the famine suggests that rural settlements, where revenue was predominantly generated through tithes and demesne farming, were not adversely affected to any great extent. As soon as harvests improved, tenants found little difficulty in resuming their previous levels of payments to the Cathedral Chapter.

Table One indicates that the period following famine was one of rising prosperity. The period between famine and plague saw the highest levels of surplus from the first round of receipts. There was a 10 per cent increase in revenue and a slight decline in expenditure, which brought a rise in surplus of over £100. This increase rises to over £175 once payments in arrears and non-resident canons' prebendal tax is included. If profit determines financial security, then the post-famine period offered much stability. The period marked a high point for the level of revenue distributed between the resident regular canons. The years between famine and plague also granted the Cathedral Chapter its greatest success rate when collecting arrears with 79 per cent of late payments raised. Lincoln's inhabitants therefore had the least difficulty at settling their debts with the Chapter during these years.

Unfortunately, as highlighted by Figure Two, there are significant gaps in the data between 1320 and 1340, but some important conclusions concerning the effects of deflation and the Cathedral Chapter's economic performance can still be drawn. The Phelps Brown-Hopkins Index suggests that, with the exception of the financial year 1327-1328, wages were depressed after the famine, whilst prices remained buoyant.<sup>78</sup> Traditionally, this has been viewed by

---

<sup>77</sup> Harvey, 'Introduction', p.19.

<sup>78</sup> Phelps-Brown & Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Prices and Consumables', p.311.



historians as the optimum conditions for landowners and demesne farming. Large institutions could sell produce at high prices and pay their workers relatively little, ensuring a sizeable surplus. Bridbury, for example, argued that landlords' considerable profits before the Black Death testifies to a static relationship between prices and wages throughout the early fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Mate offered an opposing argument through her analysis of Canterbury Priory, stating that high prices also brought negative implications for an institution's spending and so such conditions did not affect the overall surplus.<sup>80</sup> The Lincoln evidence suggests that spending did remain higher than pre-famine levels but the alleviated revenue significantly counterbalanced any rise in expenditure. The first fifteen years after famine presented a period of high profits and a rising surplus.

The benefits of a rising surplus are exaggerated further when the effects of inflation on the value of money are taken into consideration. The length of time under evaluation in this study of nearly seventy years highlights the need for reference to the purchasing power of sums raised. After all, £100 in the late 1360s would not have had the same value fifty years earlier. Such an analysis is achieved through the implementation of the Phelps-Brown and Hopkins index, which provides a point of reference for prices and wages over the course of the Middle Ages. The lower the price index, the greater the purchasing power of money and therefore the greater its real value. In conjunction with the index, the analysis utilises the currency converter tool, made available through The National Archives website. The tool enables an approximation of the value of money at ten-year intervals from 1270 onwards. This may not be exact but gives an idea of the changing value of coin. As Table Two shows, when the price index given in Phelps-Brown and Hopkins' study decreases, the value of £1 increases. Money was worth the least during the famine. Higher prices meant that more coin would be needed to make the same transaction. Before and after the famine, the same sum would have purchased much more. The results suggest that the period between 1320 and 1346 was one of relative stability as the pound carried much value. Not only did the Chapter enjoy a high surplus revenue in the decade after famine, but their money had a high purchasing power. The Cathedral Chapter's alleviated levels of surplus in the 1320s and 1330s coincided with an increase in the value of money.

---

<sup>79</sup> Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', p.402.

<sup>80</sup> Mate, 'Coping with Inflation', p.95.

Table Two: The value of coin

Table Two	Total Surplus (£)	Price Index	Value of £1 in today's coin (£)
Pre-Famine 1304-1314	490.64	108	464.72
Famine 1315-1320	451.20	167	374.56
Pre-Black Death 1321-1346	625.96	113	433.05
Post-Black Death 1358-1369	624.77	139	363.88

The interim period between famine and plague was not consistently one of prosperity. Figure Two indicates that the Chapter's fortunes changed from approximately 1330. The, albeit few, existing years of the accounts in late 1330s and 1340s show a distinct decline in surplus. The surplus of £584 in the first round of receipts achieved in 1330 had declined to £354 in 1335 and saw no sign of recovery until the post Black Death period. According to the Phelps Brown-Hopkins Index, this coincides almost exactly with onset of deflation. Deflation and the downturn in prices caused a sharp decline in Lincoln Cathedral's ability to encourage revenue, limit spending and generate significant surplus. Deflation increased spending and prevented the Chapter's collection of receipts. The evidence therefore indicates that monetary factors were largely at play in the late 1330s and 1340s, where the Cathedral Chapter's revenue was restricted due to deflationary pressure. There is no evidence to suggest that a change in population levels in these years could have caused this effect, but it is widely argued that this period saw a bullion famine with less coin in circulation through low production in the English mints. Such a conclusion supports the monetarist view, developed by Munro, Mayhew, Mate, and Nightingale, that fortunes were directly associated with the availability of coin.<sup>81</sup>

After the Black Death, income slightly increased, but expenditure continued to rise (see Table One). Even taking into consideration a significant increase in the revenue received from non-resident canons, which nearly tripled after the Black Death, overall surplus was slightly

---

<sup>81</sup> See Mayhew, 'Population, money supply', pp.238-257; Mate, 'Coping with Inflation', pp.95-106; Munro, 'Before and After the Black Death', pp.336-364; P. Nightingale, 'Monetary contraction and mercantile credit in later medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 43.4 (1990), pp.560-575.

diminished.<sup>82</sup> Figure Two demonstrates a significant low point in the Cathedral Chapter's financial situation in the early 1360s, in which income was at an extraordinary low, and expenditure at an all-time high. Surplus saw its lowest level in the year 1363-64 at little over £200. The aftermath of the Black Death therefore appears to support the conclusion that Lincoln suffered significant economic decline in the years following 1349.<sup>83</sup> A decline in the Cathedral Chapter's revenue reflects reduced agricultural output and the inability of tenants to pay rents. However, after 1363, the financial performance of Lincoln Cathedral began to stabilise and improve. Expenditure witnessed a steady decrease, while income began to climb.

The accounts pertaining to the period 1374 to 1386 suggest that these trends were set to continue. Revenue remained at previous levels, but expenditure significantly decreased. There was thus a substantial increase in remaining surplus. In the later fourteenth century, the Chapter was able to withstand the negative effects of deflation, previously felt in the 1340s. There was much recovery in the 1360s and 1370s, despite stagnant, low population levels and recurrent bullion shortages.<sup>84</sup> The financial situation of the Cathedral Chapter was proving relatively robust and able to withstand any pressure of falling prices and rising wages, which supports Kissane's findings in his work on civic government and community in Lincoln over the fourteenth century. Kissane's research suggests that Lincoln's trade has been unjustly evaluated since Hill's study in the mid-twentieth century. Instead, he argues that the evidence suggests Lincoln thrived through a profitable wool trade and service industry in the closing decades of the fourteenth century. The city resisted any significant economic difficulties until its dependence upon wool brought about its downfall in the fifteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

Furthermore, when arrears are taken into consideration, the Chapter had the potential to earn the largest surplus in the years after the plague. Between 1321 and 1347, the Chapter had nearly £185 of payments outstanding after the first round of receipts, which increased by nearly £50 after the Black Death. The Chapter had the potential to earn an average of £20 more per year in the 1360s than in the 1320s-1340s. It was their inability to successfully raise payments in arrears which prevented the Chapter realising this potential. Despite increased problems collecting payments in arrears, the accounts demonstrate that after the Black Death, a period of

---

<sup>82</sup> A future project hopes to explore this phenomenon in more depth to determine if such a significant rise in the payments from non-resident canons is due to a flourishing wool trade in the diocese, which supports Kissane's conclusions. See Kissane, *Civic Community*; p.17-49.

<sup>83</sup> Such an argument is upheld in Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, & S.H. Rigby, 'Store Decay and 'Fair Dwellings': Boston and Urban Decline in the Later Middle Ages', *Midland History*, 18 (1995), pp.52-55.

<sup>84</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, p.232.

<sup>85</sup> Kissane, *Civic Community*; p.17-49.

low population and relatively low prices, brought some recovery. Perhaps the survivors of plague and subsequent generations could sustain some economic growth due to an increased confidence in the economy assured through more *per capita* wealth. Negative consequences of deflation in the latter half of the century were kept at bay due to a lower demand for money itself after the Black Death. The fortunes of the Cathedral Chapter in the later fourteenth century do not suggest that the city and its institutions were decimated at the outbreak of plague. Instead, after an initial setback in the immediate decades following plague, the Chapter remained buoyant and able to successfully extract rents and payments from tenants and debtors.

The evidence indicates that the famine years presented no more than a temporary economic shock, throughout which Lincoln Cathedral Chapter remained resilient. The decline in potential surplus and rises in expenditure highlight that famine did present difficulties and uncertainty. The accounts do not contain evidence to suggest any long-term impact of the unprecedented food shortages seen between 1315 and 1317. The 1320s and early 1330s were profitable but the period of deflation in the later 1330s and 1340s clearly had an impact on the Chapter's ability to withstand economic pressure. The Chapter struggled to maintain previous levels of revenue and surplus thus decreased. The accounts therefore support the monetarist stance that the bullion crises posed a serious threat to landowners in the mid-fourteenth century. The final period, after the Black Death, brought significant recovery from the deflationary years. The later fourteenth century should have posed significant economic problems; with fewer tenants from whom to extract rents, and fewer members of the laity to offer tithes or shrine donations.<sup>86</sup> However, despite a much-reduced population, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter were able to generate substantial revenues. The financial situation of the Chapter appears to have been stable.

#### *Minimising the damage of famine and plague*

However, changes within the accounts suggest the threat to economic security could have been significantly worse if it were not for the Cathedral's astute administrators and mathematicians. A closer analysis of the subsections within the accounts in the later 1310s indicate that the Chapter increased the tenacity with which it collected rents and appear to have earned more per tenement than in the preceding decade. Canons were also more successful at collecting tithes and saw increased profits from their demesne. Such increases combatted declines in

---

<sup>86</sup> As stated above, estimates of population loss throughout England reach up to two thirds. See Bean, 'Plague, Population and Economic Decline', p.423-437.

other forms of revenue. The famine had a significant impact on reducing levels of shrine donations. Only the Chapter's effective and careful management and administrative practices maintained the buoyancy of the common fund accounts, which reduced the appearance of any damage incurred throughout the famine years. The changes within each subsection of the accounts indicates that there was some disruption, but it was managed effectively.<sup>87</sup>

A closer analysis of the individual itemised sources of revenue is needed to understand how the Chapter maintained and increased its revenue. The common fund accounts allow for a comparative analysis of the revenues associated with the Cathedral's roles as both a provider of spiritual salvation and its position as a major landholder and landlord. A closer analysis of the Cathedral Chapter's income provides an insight into how canons reacted to the economic difficulties presented in the fourteenth century. Revenues were not left to chance. When one form of returns diminished, canons reacted by maximising or augmenting revenue elsewhere. This is most apparent concerning donations to shrines and the collection of rents. When spiritual donations declined, temporal dues were increased to compensate for any loss. This chapter now evaluates these two forms of revenue in greater depth to determine the extent to which the Chapter was able to increase rents to protect the financial performance in times of economic uncertainty. The Chapter was more dependent on temporal sources of revenue, over which they had more direct control. Fashion or donor circumstances mitigated spiritual revenues, which had the potential to be lucrative but could easily decline in the midst of economic adversity.

Spiritual revenue in the form of shrine donations was susceptible to the negative consequences of the wider economy. During famine years, shrine income fell by 33 per cent and pensions by over 55 per cent, which highlights the Chapter's reliance on temporal forms of revenue for financial support from which it could demand payment. Shrine donations were voluntary and could not be forcibly demanded and extracted when required in times of uncertainty. The Chapter became more dependent on rents when economic instability threatened and had to raise prices to compensate for losses elsewhere. After the famine, shrine donations began to increase from an average of £104 between 1315 and 1320 to £131 in following decades. There was also a very temporary and sudden decline in the early 1320s, which coincided with a second bout of famine, which emphasises the negative correlation between food shortages and shrine offerings. After the Black Death, shrines became a much more profitable source of income for

---

<sup>87</sup> My forthcoming article analyses the management practices and agency of officials in more depth.

the Chapter. Donations rose to an average of £191 a year. Despite a sudden and significant decline in population, spiritual donations were increasing. Either people were giving more, or the pilgrim-going proportion of the population had substantially increased.<sup>88</sup> The Chapter could not directly manage all aspects of revenue, some of which were subject to outside factors. However, officials could pre-empt losses from one source of revenue and ensure overall profit was maintained by raising prices from other sources of income.

To compensate for these losses in voluntary donations, the Chapter raised rents. Between 1304 and 1314, the Chapter expected an average total of £150 from its tenants. This increased to £162 between 1315 and 1320. During the famine, the Chapter managed to collect 87 per cent of its expected revenue from rent, which resulted in £141 collected each year from tenants. In comparison, only £129 *per annum* was raised between 1304 and 1314, and between 1320 and 1346. This perhaps suggests that the officials took a very business-like attitude to their tenants and properties by benefiting from high rent prices and competition between tenants. They did not take a charitable approach to their tenants or refrain from increasing prices for their own financial gain. A strategic approach to their financial situation can be seen throughout the accounts where officials value the stability of the institution over the welfare of their dependents and tenants.

A strategic approach to finances is perhaps most obvious in the tithing and demesne farming section of the accounts, which appears under the subheading *firme*. This section lists a number of rural settlements in which the Chapter had appropriated churches and owned land. The origin of sums in this section is not explicitly clear. *Firme* translates to fee farm, and so likely refers to demesne farming but the wording in the later accounts suggest that amounts were collected from churches, which suggests that they related to tithes.<sup>89</sup> It is likely that the Chapter accounted for their demesne lands alongside tithes within this section, a practice which Dodds suggests is highly unusual. Dodds argued that there is no evidence to suggest that Westminster and Canterbury rectories undertook similar practices and collected tithes from their demesne.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> The nature of the relationship between the economy and pilgrimage is discussed further in Chapter Three.

<sup>89</sup> The accounts do contain a separate tithing subheading, titled *decime*. These payments were due from other religious houses where the Chapter owned the lesser tithes. For example, the Chapter received 20s. a year from the Gilbertine monks of St Catherine's Priory Lincoln for tithes collected in the parish of Canwick. Similarly, the expenses section of the accounts included payments to other houses who were due a proportion of the Chapter's collected tithes. 20s. a year were given to St Peter's Church in Stamford for tithes collected from Hambledon. There was an intricate tithing network amongst institutions.

<sup>90</sup> B. Dodds, 'Demesne and Tithe: peasant agriculture in the late middle ages', *Agricultural History Review*, 56.2 (2008), p.126.

However, at Lincoln, it is likely that both tithes and demesne were collected together under the *firme* heading. Many of the tenements located in the rental section of the accounts were located in the same settlements that appear under the *firme* heading, which indicates that the Chapter had free tenants and demesne lands within the same settlement. In addition, the common fund suggests that the Chapter had unfree villeins living on their land. In 1304-1305, the accounts include a small fine paid by Thomas Wodeboy for his manumission and freedom. The fact that the Chapter were granting freedom in the fourteenth century, suggest that they had serfs cultivating demesne land.<sup>91</sup>

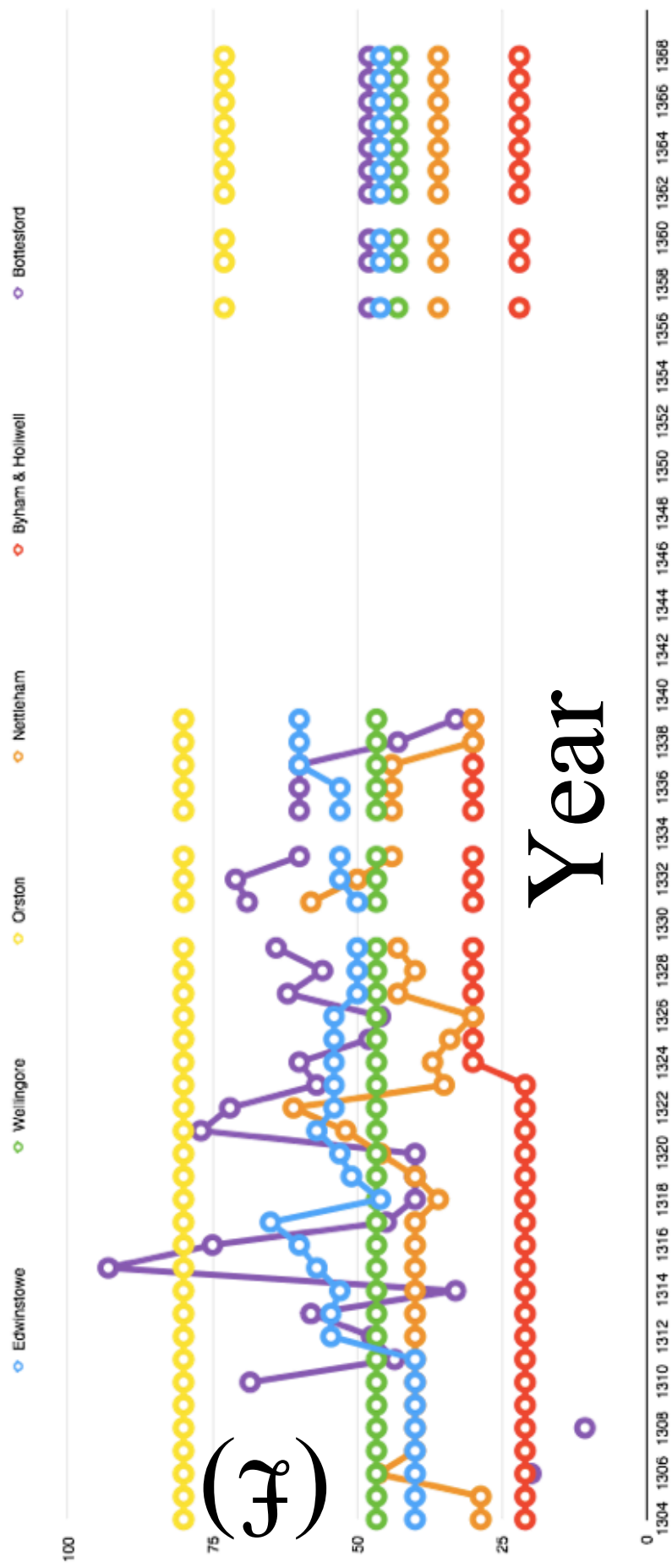
With such large sums of over £600 generated each year through *firme*, it is likely that demesne and tithes were combined. A comparison with the level of tithes generated at Durham is perhaps indicative of this process at Lincoln. It is problematic to compare institutions as they vary in size and the number of appropriated churches. Regional variations in soil, climate, and local economy would no doubt have affected different institutions and had significant effects on the success of a yield. Nevertheless, Durham's receipts reveal it generated an average of £378 a year through tithing between 1310 and 1380, significantly less than the £670 average collected at Lincoln under the heading of *firme*.<sup>92</sup> It is unlikely that Durham Cathedral Priory, which as stated earlier had the potential to earn significantly more than Lincoln Cathedral, collected significantly less revenue from tithes. Arguably, such a large difference could be explained by the inclusion of demesne estates within the Lincoln evidence. Combining tithes and demesne facilitated the accounting procedure and allowed funds to be collected more easily. It is possible that tithes and demesne were collected in kind and then sold at the market together before the values were submitted into the common fund.

---

<sup>91</sup> Bi/2/4 f.13.

<sup>92</sup> A. Dobie, *Accounting at Durham*, p.132

Figure Three: Tithes and demesne farming, 1304-1369





The Chapter held appropriated churches in over twenty parishes throughout the diocese, mostly situated in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. Unfortunately, it remains unknown what proportion of the income generated from any settlement was as a result of tithing or farming and so for the purposes of this study, they are treated as a single entity as both deal with and are dependent upon agricultural yield and production. Figure Three shows trends in revenue from a selection of settlements appearing in *firme* between 1304 and 1369. The first observation is that the Chapter directly exploited some settlements and leased out others. Leased farms generated static revenues and those exploited directly saw annual fluctuations. The directly managed settlements highlight that there was a peak in revenues during the famine. The Chapter earned significantly more from their estates when prices were high, and food was scarce. Bottesford and Nettleham both peaked in the late 1310s, dropped in the 1320s, increased in the 1330s and then declined towards the eve of the Black Death.

The post-Black Death era brought significant changes to the management of estates and tithes. All settlements were leased out and the Chapter refrained from directly exploiting their land. The process of leasing out farms and churches involved the Chapter hiring a stipendiary vicar who had cure of souls and earned his living collecting the small tithes due from the parish.<sup>93</sup> Leasing out entire estates and churches minimised risk as the canons knew with certainty the levels of revenue generated from each settlement each year. They were no longer at the mercy of yields and prices. Leasing out entire demesnes was commonplace after the Black Death. Dodds found similar evidence at Durham to suggest the frequency with which religious institutions leased out appropriated churches. He suggested that those settlements further afield in Northumberland and Yorkshire were leased as they posed the most difficult, expensive, and inconvenient settlements from which to extract funds.<sup>94</sup>

The evidence of famine, deflation, and plague on the Cathedral Chapter's revenue suggests that the famine brought depleted spiritual revenues but provided the optimum conditions to exploit land. The Chapter benefitted from high prices, which more than compensated for any low yields on its demesne and drops in pilgrim donations. With the exception of non-resident canons' prebendal tax, sources of revenue which were dependent upon a debtor providing a percentage of their profit, increased during the famine years.<sup>95</sup> The 1320s saw stability and

---

<sup>93</sup> B. Dodds, 'Estimation of Arable Output using Durham Priory Tithe Receipts, 1341-1450', *Economic History Review*, 57.2 (2004), p.245.

<sup>94</sup> Dodds, 'Estimating Arable Output', p.247.

<sup>95</sup> A future study hopes to determine whether the discrepancies between non-resident canons' failure to pay their prebendal tax during the famine and the success of the Chapter's own demesne estates was due to differences in

rising surplus but this was short-lived and the onset of deflation much reduced the Chapter's revenue. The Black Death brought long-term changes in accounting practices. The canons opted not to exploit land directly and instead leased out estates, which brought a fixed revenue. After the plague, the Chapter clearly prioritised stability over the gamble of high prices to maximise on direct exploitation. They were perhaps aware of the changing farming conditions and the increased leverage of the average labourer.

### *The Rental Market*

A closer analysis of the rental market and of the ability of the Cathedral Chapter to levy dues from the rent of houses and land throughout its diocese further highlights the effects of famine and plague on the economic performance of the institution and diocese. The common fund accounts can determine the buoyancy of the rental market and the prevalence of vacant tenements, which can be used as an indicator of population. The following section analyses the rents paid to the Chapter in more depth and finds that the severity of famine and plague brought varying repercussions for Lincoln's rural and urban tenants. Returns from rents increased during famine and after the Black Death. Properties of houses and lands became more profitable to the Cathedral Chapter during times of high prices. It was not just collected revenue but the total potential value of rents that increased. It is unlikely that the Chapter frequently bought or sold land and houses to explain the varying returns from rent, which suggests that the level of expected income from rents was relatively responsive to the wider economy and could fluctuate annually. When the market offered high prices, canons benefitted from higher returns and extracted more from tenants.

Rents were the least profitable in the deflationary decades between famine and plague, which brought low prices. A contraction in the money supply had significant and negative consequences for landowners and landlords. The Chapter was unable to demand such a high price for its tenements, as it had previously done in the opening decades of the century. Despite this, the Chapter saw the most success in collecting payments due from their tenants. Officials raised 91 per cent of their expected level of revenue from rents in the 1330s and 1340s. The totals falling into arrears almost halved in these years. A decline in the level of tenants in arrears suggests that there was not an increase in the number of vacant tenements and holdings,

---

farming. The high profits of the canons' estates in the aftermath of plague suggests that they were perhaps sheep farmers, benefitting from an increased in the trade of wool. If this was the case, perhaps their profits were most severely affected during famine years due to accompanying sheep murrain.

which would have been an indicator of depopulation after famine. The Chapter managed to raise the rent from the vast majority of tenants. A high success rate in levying rent but a decline in returns suggests lower prices, rather than depopulation. The Chapter had to reduce prices to ensure that their tenants could meet demands and pay their rents. Lower prices per tenement had a positive effect on ensuring debts were paid but had negative consequences for the overall revenue generated.

In comparison to the Chapter's high success rate when collecting rent between 1320 and 1345, the post Black Death period saw a significant drop in canons' ability to raise payments. Compared to the 97 per cent success rate in levying rents after famine in the late 1310s, only 81 per cent of expected rent was collected in the later fourteenth century. Between 1357 and 1368 the highest proportion of rents fell into arrears. The volume of rent falling into arrears increased from only £16 in the 1330s to over £41 after the Black Death. Despite an increase in the volume of rents falling into arrears after the Black Death, Table Three demonstrates that rents significantly increased in the later fourteenth century. The Chapter had the potential to earn over £30 more in rents between 1357 and 1369. The decrease in the Chapter's success rate to collect rent payments coupled with rising prices perhaps indicates that the Chapter maximised on obtaining higher prices but suffered from a declining number of tenants in the wake of the catastrophic loss of life caused by plague. It is possible that the Chapter's difficulty in ensuring debts were successfully raised, indicates that more tenements fell vacant with no new occupant to inhabit properties or manage lands after the Black Death.

However, even with a reduced number of tenants, the Chapter successfully raised most of their revenue from rents in the post-Black Death period. An increase in the volume of revenue seen in this period suggests that the Chapter did not see marked negative consequences of a reduced number of tenants after the outbreak of plague. Arguably, this is because remaining tenants saw increased *per capita* wealth. The increase in tenements falling into arrears alongside rising revenues from rent suggests that the Chapter were making more money from fewer tenants. Perhaps Bridbury's theory of an 'Indian Summer' is aptly applied to indirect exploitation of land as opposed to demesne farming. This type of tenancy agreement does not benefit from the ample records available in manorial courts and so is often overlooked. A rare glimpse into the stability of rents held by free tenants suggests that it was proving a profitable source of income as tenants who earned more for their labour could afford higher rents.

Table Three: Total Rents Raised

	Total Rent (£)	Total Arrears (£)	Expected Rent (£)	Total Raised (£)	Total Raised First Round (%)	Total Raised in Arrears (%)
Pre-Famine 1304-1314	120.47	29.26	149.73	128.79	81	86
Famine 1315-1320	132.65	29.36	162.01	140.64	82	87
Pre-Black Death 1321-1346	126.49	15.69	142.17	129.13	89	91
Post-Black Death 1358-1369	137.26	41.14	178.40	145.13	77	81
Average 1304-1369	129.22	28.86	158.08	135.92	82	86

An analysis of rents also offers an understanding into how economic change affected both countryside and city. In the arrears section of the accounts, but unfortunately not the section covering the first round of receipts, the Chapter divided its tenants into two categories, one within and another outside of the city walls, which allows for a useful comparison of urban and rural tenants.<sup>96</sup> Rents from both within and outside of the city walls appear to have been susceptible to the wider economic and social climate and significantly changed over the course of the fourteenth century. Table Four demonstrates that the famine years between 1315 and 1320 saw an increased number of urban tenants fall into arrears. The Chapter also found more difficulties when collecting these late payments with an increased proportion of rent remaining outstanding in comparison to the pre-famine years. The vast majority remained uncollected, which suggests that the Chapter had significant difficulties when raising rents from urban tenants. In comparison, Table Five shows that there were fewer tenants falling into arrears from rural settlements during the famine. The difference in Lincoln Cathedral's urban and

---

<sup>96</sup>A list of tenants who have fallen into arrears at the end of accounts testifies to the Cathedral owning land and properties throughout the diocese. The section listing tenants in arrears includes two columns for the collection of rent, indicating that payments were collected twice yearly. The tenants are grouped together per vill in settlements such as Ingham, Claxeby, Glenthams, Wellingore, and London. It is not within the scope of this project to investigate these tenants in more depth, but a future project aims to evaluate changes in the average cost for houses and land and the geographical distribution of parishes containing cathedral held properties.

rural tenants, whereby those renting within the city walls saw greater difficulty paying rents, highlights that the famine was largely an urban problem. The Chapter's rural tenants could meet their rent payments slightly more easily. Urban tenants were arguably the most precariously placed during agricultural crisis as they were dependent on the markets with little opportunity for subsistence farming. Comparatively, tenants living further afield managed to continue to pay rent, implying that the famine still allowed them to feed themselves and perhaps benefit from higher prices for their produce.

Table Four: Rents in Arrears inside the City of Lincoln

	Total Urban Rents Arrears (£)	Urban Rents Raised in Arrears (£)	Urban Rents Outstanding (£)
Pre-Famine 1304-1314	14.25	2.08	13.39
Famine 1315-1320	15.53	1.92	13.41
Pre-Black Death 1321-1346	6.99	0.25	6.75
Post-Black Death 1358-1369	16.15	0.10	16.06
Average 1304-1369	13.23	1.09	12.40

Table Five: Rents in Arrears Outside City of Lincoln

	Total Rural Rents Arrears (£)	Rural Rents Raised in Arrears (£)	Rural Rents Outstanding (£)
Pre-Famine 1304-1314	15.00	6.24	8.77
Famine 1315-1320	14.03	6.07	7.96
Pre-Black Death 1321-1346	8.69	2.40	6.30
Post-Black Death 1358-1369	25.06	7.76	17.45
Average 1304-1369	15.70	5.62	10.12

The post-famine period saw fortunes improve for both rural and urban tenants alike. Only an average of £7 from rents inside the city fell into arrears compared to £9 in rural areas. This was however, very short-lived. After the Black Death, £17 annually fell into arrears from the Cathedral's Lincoln-based tenants and over £25 could not be raised from rural tenants. The success rate at levying rents from those in arrears also significantly reduced. The Chapter could only raise 1 per cent of rents in arrears from their urban tenants and 30 per cent from those further afield. The collection of urban rents returned to the levels seen in the early fourteenth century. The decades between famine and plague only presented a brief period of improvement. Rural rents in arrears, however, had remained much lower than urban rents until the later fourteenth century. After the Black Death, uncollected rents from outside of the city almost tripled from £6 to £17 a year. A plausible and possible explanation for this is vacant tenements. Where urban settlements faced more financial trouble paying rents during famine, rural tenants suffered more in the aftermath of plague.

Dobie observed similar trends in Durham Cathedral Priory's success at collecting rents, likely caused by vacant, decayed, or wasted tenements after the Black Death.<sup>97</sup> In a time known for rural-urban migration and stagnant low demographic levels, perhaps this is largely the result of vacant tenements and an insufficient number of potential tenants to replace the deceased or departed. Such a conclusion could be a sign of the wider effects of the Black Death. Perhaps the higher increase in tenants from further afield falling into debt signals a greater proportion of vacant tenements in rural areas, caused by depopulation and migration. It is possible that tenants had left their holdings and migrated to towns. Many studies have suggested that migration was a key component of the post-Black Death era, as rural labourers sought new and more exciting opportunities in towns.<sup>98</sup> Urban holdings became more desirable. Kissane studied occupation data to suggest an influx of rural workers entered Lincoln in the years after the Black Death and sought new opportunities in town.<sup>99</sup> The evidence available in Lincoln Chapter's common fund supports this argument and indicates that there was indeed a higher uptake in houses and lands located within the city walls.

---

<sup>97</sup> A. Dobie, *Accounting at Durham*, p.160-165

<sup>98</sup> Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp.96, 204; Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, p.17; J.A. Galloway, 'Town and Country in England, 1300-1570', in S.R. Epstein, (ed.), *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.16-17; P.McLure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames', *Economic History review*, 32 (1979), pp.167-82.

<sup>99</sup> Kissane. *Civic Community*, pp.33-49.

Other sources corroborate these findings. The Burwarmote court rolls contain numerous incidences of the dean and Chapter taking tenants to court over issues on unpaid and late rents. In 1329, for example, the Chapter took tenant Walter de Cliffland to court, who owed 6s. 4d. *per annum* for a house in a suburb of Lincoln. He was in arrears to the Chapter for three years. The court ordered him to pay or risk losing his rights as tenant.<sup>100</sup> All occurrences of such disputes heard in the Burwarmote Court take place before the onset of plague in the mid-fourteenth century. The lack of cases in which the Chapter took tenants to court in the years 1350 to 1370 suggests that they were perhaps aware of the economic climate. Before the demographic collapse in 1349, the Chapter could risk forcing unruly tenants who were refusing to pay their rents on time with some certainty that the building or land would soon be passed to another. The reluctance of the Chapter to take tenants to court or force them to leave in the second half of the century suggests that depopulation meant that there was no guarantee someone else would take on the tenement. An unreliable tenant was preferred to a vacant lot.

### *Conclusion*

Medieval accounting was highly complex and well-suited to deal with the management of Lincoln Cathedral's financial affairs. The evidence suggests that both demographic and monetary concerns had significant impact on the economic fortunes of the institution. High population in the opening decades brought prosperity as the Chapter maximised on competition between labourers and tenants. The famine presented an economic challenge but was only short-lived. Subsequent decades were the most financially successful years of the Cathedral's fourteenth century economic history, before the onset of deflation brought clear signs of economic turbulence in the 1340s. The aftermath of the Black Death proved to be relatively stable and was characterised by much standardisation and simplification of accounting practices. Despite the significant fall in population, subsequent epidemics and bullion famines, the Chapter had the potential to earn the most revenue in the later fourteenth century.

The analysis has also highlighted that the famine and plague brought different challenges for Lincoln's urban and rural tenants. Famine, which increased the cost of subsistence goods, meant that urban tenants struggled to pay rents on time. The following decades of low returns but high success rates in collecting rents suggests that there was no sudden depopulation after famine but that the Chapter could not extract as much money per tenement as it had previously

---

<sup>100</sup> Burwarmote Court Book LAO FL/TRANSCRIPTS/U/ 28 f.117.

done in the opening decades. Rural tenements remained relatively stable until after the Black Death. High returns but an increased number of tenants falling into arrears suggests vacant lots due to a rise in rural-urban migration. Famine was an urban problem as those living in rural settlements were most likely to secure subsistence. The economic climate in the aftermath of plague was a rural problem with more migrants leaving the land to seek new opportunities in cities and towns.

The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter suggest that the institution remained highly profitable throughout the century. This had implications for the entire diocese, which housed the Cathedral's debtors and tenants. The trends in the economic performance of Lincoln Cathedral and its diocese support a combination of current historiographical theories and certainly point to a synthesis between monetary and demographic interpretations. In opposition to Postan's theory, the results show that famine was only a temporary glitch, from which the Cathedral and its tenants recovered relatively quickly.<sup>101</sup> Such a conclusion aligns best with Harvey's assertion that the early fourteenth-century food shortages can only be defined as a short-term crisis.<sup>102</sup> In line with many monetarist historians, the Chapter clearly saw financial setbacks in the 1340s, when deflationary pressure brought low prices and economic stagnation. Finally, the period after the Black Death also showed signs of economic stability, in spite of the widespread epidemics.

In support of Rubin's findings, the common fund accounts indicate that the Chapter were best placed to offer charity and gifts in the later fourteenth century during periods in which tenants were most able to pay rents and farming produced high returns.<sup>103</sup> Comparatively, when charity would have been in the highest demand during episodes of famine and high prices, the Chapter sought to protect their own finances. The profit found within the accounts each year suggests that the Chapter consistently had the means to offer gifts and philanthropic donations to the laity. They always produced a substantial surplus. The remainder of this thesis uses the economic performance of Lincoln Cathedral and its diocese as a backdrop, against which to evaluate fourteenth century gift-giving practices. Subsequent chapters use this research as a framework against which to analyse the peaks and troughs of medieval gift-giving in the fourteenth century.

---

<sup>101</sup> See Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population'; Postan, *The Medieval Economy*.

<sup>102</sup> Harvey, 'Introduction', pp.20-24.

<sup>103</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.50.



## Chapter Two: Ceremonial Gift-Exchange and the Formation of Social bonds

Evidence of gift-exchange is prominent throughout the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. Gifts, which are defined as something voluntarily transferred by one person to another without compensation, were both a substantial source of revenue and a considerable source of expenditure for Lincoln's canons.<sup>1</sup> The Chapter was frequently the recipient of pilgrim donations and post-mortem charity and can also be seen offering gifts to the poor and to important religious and secular figures. This study explores the experience of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter in seeking reciprocal alliances through gift-exchange and explores the role and purpose of gift-giving. The following analysis examines the theories concerning the importance and purpose of gifts to the dead, which are a regular feature of the common fund accounts. It aims to determine how gifts may have facilitated a collective identity amongst resident canons and to explore the extent to which the Cathedral Chapter can be regarded as a cohesive familial unit. It aims to analyse the purpose of gifts to elite figures and to establish whether economic concerns placed limits on the Chapter's generosity. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the fourteenth century was a turbulent period, marked by numerous instances of economic shock. The study determines the impact of economic considerations on gift-giving, such as wider regional or national financial stability and institutional wealth, in order to understand how the socio-economic climate influenced gift-exchange. This analysis is used throughout the remainder of the thesis as a lens to scrutinise changes in gift-giving in the fourteenth century.

Since the times of Plato and Aristotle, gift-giving has been the subject of much conceptual analysis.<sup>2</sup> In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, theories from a variety of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, economics, and biology, have attempted to deduce the fundamental components of gift-giving and philanthropic behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Essentially, studies have

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Merriam-Webster Dictionary', <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gift> [accessed 21/02/18]

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, for example, refers to relationship of gift-exchange to compensate for what is inestimable; such as the passing down of knowledge. See M. Hénaff and J.L. Morhange (trans.), *The Price of Truth: Gift, Money, and Philosophy*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp.107-109.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see: J. Andreoni, 'Giving with Impure Altruism: Applications to Charity and Ricardian Equivalence.' *The Journal of Political Economy*, 97 (1989), pp.1447-1458; J. Andreoni, 'Impure Altruism and Donations to Public Goods: A theory of warm-glow giving', *Economic Journal*, 100 (1990), pp.464-477; M. Bateson, D. Nettle, et al, 'Cues of being watched enhance cooperation in a real world setting', *Biology Letters*, 2 (2006), pp.412-414; D. Baumann, R.B. Cialdini, & D.T. Kenrick, 'Altruism as hedonism: Helping and self-gratification as equivalent responses', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40 (1981), pp.1039-1046; L. Caplan, 'Gifting and receiving: Anglo-Indian charity and its beneficiaries in Madras', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 32 (1998), pp. 409-431; A.E. Komter, 'The Gift and Social Relations', *International Sociology*, 22 (2007), pp.93-107; A.E. Komter, 'Reciprocity as a Principle of Exclusion: Gift giving in the Netherlands',

aimed to determine why we give, and what determines how much. In 1925, Marcel Mauss's seminal work, *The Gift*, emphasised a clear distinction between two forms of giving: private and ceremonial. Whilst neither are driven by economic gain, only private giving is motivated by morality and the compulsion to help others. Mauss declared the ceremonial gift an enigma and aimed to explore its purpose if it was neither economic nor moral. While Mauss was not the first to draw this distinction between private and ceremonial gift-exchange, he was the first to identify the latter as a problem.<sup>4</sup> Mauss argued that ceremonial giving was commonplace in archaic societies but called for further analysis and exploration of its purpose and function. Later studies developed this premise and widely concluded that ceremonial gift-exchange is used by donors and recipients to create, develop, and continue desirable social bonds and relationships.<sup>5</sup>

Ceremonial exchange creates social contracts in which alliances develop through the offering, accepting, and reciprocating of gifts and gestures. Central to an understanding of all gift-giving is the notion of reciprocity. Donors give to oblige their recipients to reciprocate. According to reciprocity theory, both benefactor and beneficiary must gain some personal utility for gift-giving to exist. For private gift-exchange, the reciprocated gift may be a feeling of warm-glow or personal pride.<sup>6</sup> For ceremonial giving, the return gift takes the form of a social relationship. A successful gift-giving process must achieve its aim to bring mutual benefit to encourage repeat behaviour.<sup>7</sup> Ceremonial exchange remains prevalent in modern societies with developed market systems. Even in the twenty-first century, ceremonial gifts continue to create and develop desirable friendships and alliances. The exchange of birthday presents, wedding gifts,

---

*Sociology*, 30 (1996), pp.299-316; B. Schwartz, 'The Social Psychology of the Gift', *American Journal of Sociology*, 73 (1967), pp.1-11.

<sup>4</sup> M. Mauss & I. Cunnison (trans.), *The Gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. (London: Cohen and West, 2000). (First published in 1925.); see Hénaff, *The Price of Truth*, p.107.

<sup>5</sup> See B. Schwartz, 'The Social Psychology of the Gift', *American Journal of Sociology*, 73.1 (1967), pp.1-11; P. Blau, 'Social Exchange', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 7 (1968), pp.452-457; A. Komter, 'Gifts and social relations: The mechanisms of reciprocity', *International Sociology*, 22.1 (2007), pp.93-107.

<sup>6</sup> M.L. Hoffman, 'Is Altruism Part of Human Nature?', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40.1 (1981), pp.121-137; J. Andreoni, 'Privately Provided Public Goods in a Large Economy: the limits of altruism', *Journal of Public Economics*, 35 (1988), pp.57-73; J. Andreoni, 'Altruism and Donations to Public Goods: a theory of warm-glow giving', *The Economic Journal*, 100 (1990), pp.464-477; C.D. Batson, 'How Social an Animal? The human capacity for caring', *The American Psychologist*, (1990), pp.336-346.

<sup>7</sup> A. Falk, & U. Fischbacher, 'A Theory of Reciprocity', *Games and Economic Behaviour*, 54.2 (2006), pp.293-315; A.W. Gouldner, 'The Norm of Reciprocity: A preliminary statement', *American Sociological Review*, (1960), pp.161-178; C.M. Fong, 'Evidence from an experience of Charity to Welfare Recipients: Reciprocity, Altruism and the Empathetic Responsiveness Hypothesis', *The Economic Journal*, 117 (2007), pp.1008-1024; H.P. Becker, *Man in Reciprocity*, (New York: Praeger, 1956); L.T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution: A Study in Comparative Ethics*, (London: H.Holt, 1906); G. Homans, 'Social Behaviour as Exchange', *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (1958), pp.597-606; J. Lichtenberg, 'What is Charity?', *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*, 29 (2009), pp.16-20.

and public donations to charitable causes are all examples of ceremonial giving. In the fourteenth century, the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter highlight the prevalence with which ceremonial gift-exchange cemented and developed social bonds, which could transcend the realms of living and dead.

This chapter explores the role of reciprocity in medieval and modern public gift-giving and examines the use of ceremonial gift-exchange in the creation of favourable networks and alliances, both amongst the living and between the living and deceased. The chapter discusses the role of morality and economic concern in determining the extent of ceremonial exchange. The ceremonial gift is not motivated by altruism nor economic gain, yet the desire to appear altruistic and concerns for economic stability set parameters of such exchange. Ceremonial gifts only achieve their aim to create and develop social bonds if the donor successfully appears prosocial, philanthropic and generous. It is not altruism but the quest to publicly act altruistically that drives ceremonial exchange. Furthermore, changes in the economy shape the supply and demand of the gift, but not always in the same way. At times, economic downturns ensure the gift is more valuable, and so giving increases. At other times, prolonged declines in the confidence of the economy ensure some gifts are viewed as superfluous and unnecessary. Some social bonds are made more valuable in times of crisis, where others are deemed an unnecessary use of resources.

All gifts found within the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter were designed to establish alliances. They contributed to the creation and development of social bonds by allowing the donor to adhere to social norms and advertise their philanthropic disposition. Pilgrims sought social contracts with saints; the rich sought mutually beneficial relationships with the poor; the canons sought to cement themselves in larger regional and national networks. Ceremonial exchange is neither economic nor moral but exists within strict parameters governed by concerns for economic longevity and morality. Such ceremonial gifts, whilst motivated by the desire to form alliances, were entrenched with concerns to appear altruistic alongside considerations for economic stability.

### *The Ceremonial Gift: An Enigma*

Fundamental to current understanding of ceremonial gift-giving is Mauss's work on ritualised gift-giving, which provides a comparative analysis of studies undertaken by Franz Boas and

Bronislaw Malinowski.<sup>8</sup> *The Gift* advocated a careful approach to understanding the theory of reciprocity on both private and public acts of giving with the suggestion that gifts should not be assumed to simply show generosity or prove financial power. Mauss built upon the work of early twentieth century ethnographers and anthropologists, who had immersed themselves in North American, Polynesian, Melanesian, and Australian aborigine peoples. Many had observed first-hand the gift-giving practices of archaic societies, whom they perceived were yet to develop full and complex economic systems.<sup>9</sup> The studies aimed to analyse inter and intra tribe interactions and relationships to further understand the foundations of gift-giving practices common to contemporary societies. Boas and Malinowski, who studied North American and Polynesian communities respectively, recognised complicated ceremonial gift-exchange practices at the heart of tribal communication. For Boas, the interaction was termed *the Potlatch*, and for Malinowski, *the Kula*.

Malinowski was one of the first ethnographers to assert the unparalleled value of full immersion within tribes to gain a nuanced and accurate reflection of traditions and customs. He evaluated the function of *the Kula*; a ring through which gifts were passed between tribes. Malinowski observed that tribesmen had partners from other clans, with whom they would regularly exchange valuable jewelled gifts. The donated gifts were not to be kept, but instead passed on elsewhere to a different tribe and to a different partner. Gifts were exclusively either necklaces or arm shells and were offered in a very distinctive and methodical way. Necklaces passed through *the Kula* in a clockwise direction, and arm shells in a counter-clockwise direction.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately, Malinowski recognised *the Kula* as a ceremonial exchange, reciprocal but competitive, which brought players considerable prestige, but no material wealth.<sup>11</sup> Its sole function was to bring neighbouring tribes together in a shared acknowledgement of peace. Boas observed a similar gift-exchange system in North American tribes. *The Potlatch* involved ceremonial feasts and celebrations where dances were performed and gifts exchanged to reaffirm the social order. He found gifts exchanged between tribes brought peace and allegiance. Gifts could neither be declined, nor go unreciprocated. They carried symbolic

---

<sup>8</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*.

<sup>9</sup> Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski, whose work forms the foundation of Mauss's comparative study, are two examples of ethnographers who lived within their studies tribes. See F. Boas, 'The Potlatch', *Kwakiutl Ethnography* (1966), pp.77-104., (written in 1888); B. Malinowski & A. Kuper (ed.), *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagos of Melanesian New Guinea*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002). (First published 1922).

<sup>10</sup> Malinowski, *Argonauts*, pp.83-84.

<sup>11</sup> A. Kuper, 'Foreword' in Malinowski, *Argonauts*, p.xv.

significance and were believed to embody a spirit. If a chief failed to follow gift-giving customs, tribal myths instructed that he even risked death.<sup>12</sup>

Mauss built upon the foundations that his predecessors established to identify ceremonial gift-exchange as the enigma at the heart of the theory of reciprocity: its purpose is neither economic nor moral. The ceremonial gift does not seek financial gain, but neither is it defined by altruistic intent or moral expression. As Marcel Hénaff remarked, Mauss saw ceremonial gift-exchange not as a relationship between humans mediated by things, but as a relationship between humans mediated by symbols, which may have taken the form of physical goods, marital alliances, feasts, or gestures.<sup>13</sup> Mauss argued that the ceremonial gift is motivated by the desire to attain a favourable public image or to establish desirable, peaceful alliances. A ceremonial gift calls upon both parties to recognise, accept, and honour each other reciprocally, and, above all, engage in an alliance of what is given to the other.<sup>14</sup> Mauss termed this phenomenon the *Total Social Fact* where ritualised giving embraced and encompassed the entire society and was the central mode of its existence.<sup>15</sup>

Mauss and his early twentieth-century contemporaries identified the ways in which ceremonial gift-exchange influenced the creation and development of both inter and intra tribal alliances in archaic societies.<sup>16</sup> In more complex societies, with market economies and developed political systems, the concept of ceremonial exchange as the primary determiner of peaceful relations appears alien. Hénaff stated that modern societies with fully developed markets rely on the law for mutual public recognition, on the market for organising subsistence, and on private giving for generating social bonds.<sup>17</sup> Such an interpretation suggests that gift-giving solely rests in the private domain as personal and individualised behaviour. However, public or ceremonial gift-giving remains fundamental to contemporary society, often disguised as private philanthropy or kindness. Birthday or marriage presents, public charitable donations, and even offering hospitality are all examples of ceremonial giving, which further the benefactor's position within social groups or allow the donor to adhere to desirable societal norms. They all seek recognition and reciprocation. Similarly, as this thesis later demonstrates, in fourteenth-century society, the doctrine of Purgatory, pilgrimage, gild donations, and gifts

---

<sup>12</sup> Boas, 'The Potlatch', pp.77-104.

<sup>13</sup> Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, p.153.

<sup>14</sup> Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, p.135.

<sup>15</sup> Mauss, *The gift*, pp.26-77. For analysis of Mauss's Total Social Fact see Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, pp.117-122.

<sup>16</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, F. Boas, 'The Potlatch', pp.77-104; Malinowski, *Argonauts*; E. L. Schieffelin, 'Reciprocity and the Construction of Reality', *Man*, 15.3 (1980), pp.502-517.

<sup>17</sup> Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, p.154.

to important officials and figures sought to develop social bonds. They all engaged the recipient of the gift in an unspoken contract in which they were obliged to receive, recognise, and reciprocate.

### *Ceremonial Giving and Altruism in Market Economies*

The desire to create favourable social bonds and alliances remains a fundamental aspect of gift-exchange and its study forms the basis of many theories of both medieval and modern gift-giving. The following section explores two areas of gift-giving theory, which are prominent in the common fund accounts, namely religiously motivated gifts and elite gift-giving. These sections demonstrate that concerns of morality affect ceremonial gift-giving behaviours in both medieval and contemporary societies. The chapter finds that within both religious and elite giving, donors attempt to downplay or pass over the use that they are making of ceremonial exchange to create social bonds and networks. Instead, benefactors want their donation or gift to appear altruistic and motivated by morality and compassion. It is the display of altruism, rather than the actual gift given that cements a positive relationship, which draws parallels with Mauss's observation that the true meaning and purpose of ceremonial exchange lies behind the material gift. The gift symbolises attempts at peace.<sup>18</sup> Religious and elite giving in medieval and modern societies aim to establish social bonds and attempt to align the benefactor with societal norms. Religious giving includes gifts to the church, those motivated by religious teachings, gifts influenced by the doctrine of Purgatory, and pilgrim donations. Elite giving surrounds large donations and galas, the fad of 'voluntourism', and generous gifts to peers and associates. While all examples of giving appear to be altruistic and motivated by the aspiration to do good, such gifts were largely inspired by a desire to establish a positive public image, elevated societal positions, and social cohesion.

### *Religiously-motivated Giving*

Much of the gift-giving witnessed in the common fund accounts is directly linked to the Cathedral's role as a religious house. Religious teachings and expectations arguably played a significant role in the collection and distribution of the Cathedral Chapter's gifts. However, even religiously-motivated gifts aimed to perpetuate social bonds. There has been some debate concerning whether religiously motivated gifts should be classed as private or public forms of giving. On the one hand, they are individual acts carried out in private and encouraged by

---

<sup>18</sup> See Mauss, *The Gift*, and Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, p.135.

religious teachings. On the other hand, the donor may still believe their actions are observable by God and wish to adhere to the norms and customs of a particular religious group. Some studies have highlighted the link between religiosity and heightened private gift-giving, but others argue that primarily the desire to match the generosity or philanthropy of peers influences religious donors.<sup>19</sup>

One widely supported theory is that religious people, of any faith, are more likely to feel compelled to act altruistically due to their religious teachings. Under the remit of religious belief theory, scholars have argued that religious people have a greater appreciation of others' struggles, which leads to a more charitable disposition. Studies in support of religious belief theory uphold increased charitable giving and volunteering amongst individuals with an affinity to a religion.<sup>20</sup> The link between religious faith and a positive attitude towards helping others seems a logical and valid theory due to the many teachings highlighting the importance of kindness and humility. Philanthropy plays a key role in many religious texts. The three most prominent religions are built upon the importance of charity and caring for others. Doctrines in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam highlight the religious obligation and duty of faithful followers to provide charity.<sup>21</sup> The Bible, for example, relays the parable of the Good Samaritan and instructs the Christian to 'love thy neighbour'.<sup>22</sup>

The most common method by which to research the impact of religiosity on philanthropic activity in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries was the use of surveys and questionnaires. The data gathered were used to determine an individual's religious views and the frequency and size of their charitable contributions. Participant responses were then analysed and interpreted to investigate whether religious belief had a direct link to prosocial or philanthropic attitudes. Arthur Brooks is a key academic in this field who followed this method concerning religious faith and charitable giving in the United States. He found that religious people make up 33 per cent of the population but contribute 52 per cent of all donations and

---

<sup>19</sup> See I.E. Berger, 'The Influence of Religion on Philanthropy in Canada.' *Voluntas*, 17 (2006), pp. 115–132.

<sup>20</sup> M. Lyons & I. Nivison-Smith, 'Religion and Giving in Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 41.4 (2006), pp.419-436; B. Spilka, R.W. Hood, & R.L. Gorsuch, *The Psychology of Religion: an empirical approach*, (London, 1985); C.D. Batson and W.L. Ventis, *The Religious Experience: a social-psychological perspective* (New York, 1982); M. Argyle & B. Beit-Hallahmi, *The Social Psychology of Religion* (London, 1975); M. Argyle, *Advances in the Psychology of Religion*, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2013), pp.8-17; J.A. Will & J. K. Cochran 'God Helps Those Who Help Themselves? The Effects of Religious Affiliation, Religiosity, and Deservedness on Generosity toward the Poor', *Sociology of Religion*, 56.3 (1995), pp.327-338.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Deuteronomy, 15:7-11 in the Torah commands Jews to refrain from 'hardening their hearts' to needy kinsmen and the Qur'an in Sura 2:177 defines a righteous man as one who cares for the orphans and the needy.

<sup>22</sup> Luke 10:25-37.

45 per cent of time volunteered. Conversely, secular people make up 26 per cent of the population but only contribute 13 per cent of donations.<sup>23</sup> He therefore concluded that religiosity was an important indicator of private philanthropic activity. Most philanthropy was offered by individuals who identified as religious.

The expectation that religious people inevitably follow the instructions of their religion legitimises the theory that religiosity increases philanthropic activity. However, the conclusion may be too presumptuous. Do religious people always act on their religious teachings? The theory benefits from an abundance of studies and research but such surveys and questionnaires relied on self-reported behaviour, which perhaps only highlighted donor intention. As later demonstrated, this concern has frequently led many academics to question the accuracy and validity of findings. Religious belief theory relies solely on participants honestly reporting their behaviour. It remains to be tested whether religious people are truly more generous or whether they just show a heightened awareness of the desire and need to appear as such. It is unclear whether they are reporting behavioural intentions or actual practices. Religious teachings may instil the belief that faithful individuals should behave philanthropically but it remains unknown if these beliefs are actually expressed.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, academics have attempted to ascertain the prevalence of a correlation between religion and philanthropy through an analysis of actual expressed behaviour rather than self-reported actions. Frequently, results indicate that no clear correlation between religious beliefs and philanthropy can be identified.<sup>24</sup> This suggests that religiosity plays no role in encouraging philanthropic and prosocial activity. Religious belief theory is therefore insufficient at explaining the true nature of philanthropy. Religious participants are only highly aware of a 'correct response' in order to successfully adhere to the expected social norms. A significant proportion of participants would be motivated, either consciously or unconsciously, by attaining the social prestige granted to them when appearing generous and charitable. Church teachings create a preconception that pious individuals should act charitably. The pressure to adhere to the teachings propagates a certain socially desirable image which may encourage participants of surveys to mislead the researchers in order to

---

<sup>23</sup> A.C. Brooks, 'Religious Faith and Charitable Giving', *Policy Review*, 121 (2003), pp.39-50.

<sup>24</sup> See B. Hunsberger & E. Platonow, 'Religion and Helping Charitable Causes', *The Journal of Psychology*, 120 (2001), pp.517-528; C.C. Eckel & P. Grossman, 'Giving to Secular Causes by the Religious and Nonreligious: An Experimental Test of the Responsiveness of Giving to Subsidies', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33 (2004), pp.271-289.



portray a more caring and generous, yet fictitious, persona.<sup>25</sup> The dichotomy between self-reported behaviour and the more recent findings, which refute a positive correlation between religiosity and philanthropic action, suggests that religiously-motivated giving is perhaps the result of the desire to look good in front of God and peers. Religiously-motivated gifts therefore enter the realm of ceremonial exchange.

The use of gifts to achieve social status amongst donors with a strong allegiance to a religious faith highlights the role of giving in establishing connections. The donor attempts to align themselves with a favourable self-image. Many religious donors offer gifts out of morality or compassion, but the action of giving also allows them to present themselves in a certain way and thus gain access to a certain community or social group. These may be private donations, but they are still motivated by obtaining a preferable public image and social approval. The gift is intended to allow the donor to adhere to the social norms of their group and meet societal expectations.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that religious beliefs encourage gift-giving to conform to religious teachings and appear pious and worthy in the eyes of God. An all-knowing God may look favourably upon his subjects who feed the hungry and clothe the poor. It is plausible that religious individuals are motivated to offer gifts that demand recognition and acknowledgement from God to establish a network through prosocial and philanthropic behaviour.

Religiously-motivated giving should arguably be classed as private philanthropy because it involves the transfer of wealth from one individual to another. The donor has relative freedom to offer gifts and is encouraged by the needs of others and religious teachings to relieve distress or poverty.<sup>27</sup> However, there is a stronger correlation between religious belief and the desire to appear philanthropic, than between religious belief and actual expressed philanthropic behaviour. The gap between donor intention and donor action suggests that the true motivator of prosocial activity is the social gain awarded to generous benefactors.<sup>28</sup> Appearing prosocial brings acceptance and a stronger sense of belonging to social groups that advocate gift-giving and philanthropic attitudes. In many ways, even twenty-first century religious gifts are

---

<sup>25</sup> See C.D. Batson, P. Schoenrade, & V. Pynch, 'Brotherly Love or Self-Concern? Behavioural consequences of Religion', in L. Brown (ed.), *Advances in the Psychology of Religion*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985), pp.185-208; See R. Wuthnow, *Acts of Compassion: Caring for others and helping ourselves*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1991).

<sup>26</sup> See Batson, Schoenrade, & Pynch, 'Brotherly Love or Self-Concern?', pp.185-208; Wuthnow, *Acts of Compassion*.

<sup>27</sup> Brooks, 'Religious Faith and Charitable Giving', pp.39-50.

<sup>28</sup> See I.E. Berger, 'The Influence of Religion', pp. 115–132.

therefore ceremonial. Their main function is to afford the donor social utility and grant access to an elevated social position.

Theories on medieval gift-giving and religiosity have undergone a similar transformation. The earliest theories in the mid-nineteenth century began with the notion that religiosity caused increased gift-giving but then later developed to suggest that more self-interested motivations were at play. Wills and last testaments are a valuable source of evidence to measure and analyse medieval philanthropy and gift-giving practices. In 1960, W.K. Jordan catalogued 3500 examples of wills in the Tudor and Stuart period and used the results to evaluate philanthropic activity in the late Middle Ages and early modern era. He argued that increased gift-giving in wills testified to heightened charitable intent.<sup>29</sup> Jordan was widely praised for his meticulous work in making wills accessible for future study, but his conclusion that wills show pious or altruistic intent found much criticism. His argument was regarded as simplistic and lacking in-depth analysis of the true motivations for charitable giving.<sup>30</sup> Miri Rubin's analysis of the wills of Cambridge merchants rejects Jordan's view of pious and charitable benefactors and argues that his conclusions do not do justice to the ways in which gifts furthered social and economic goals.<sup>31</sup> It is now widely accepted that evidence of generous bequests in wills reflects the desire to collect prayers from the living.<sup>32</sup> Intense charitable activity coincided with widely held beliefs concerning the doctrine of Purgatory. A society which readily accepted the efficacy of prayers for the dead and the spiritual utility of charitable giving as ways to reduce time in Purgatory saw increased charitable exchange.<sup>33</sup> The desire to achieve a positive self-image and to create social bonds between the dead and living in the hope of reducing purgatorial suffering drove prosocial behaviour. The desired social bonds established through post-mortem charity were therefore not just with God but between the dead and the living.

Poor parishioners were regular recipients of charitable bequests in wills, due to the belief that their humility and poverty resembled Christ. The prayers of the poor were thus perceived to

---

<sup>29</sup> W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660*, (Crow's Nest: Allen and Unwin, 1960).

<sup>30</sup> See Review: G.R. Elton, *Historical Journal*, 3 (1960), pp.89-92.

<sup>31</sup> M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.5-6.

<sup>32</sup> J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The social function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1972), pp.10-13.

<sup>33</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.11; For more analysis on Purgatory see J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986).

be the most effective to reduce time in Purgatory.<sup>34</sup> Such charity and gift-giving therefore not only tied the living and the dead, but the rich and the poor: those in need of redemption, and those in need of relief and subsistence. The number of paupers receiving alms in a last testament was often symbolic, with benefactors frequently stipulating that they wished to provide for twelve poor parishioners to presumably represent the number of disciples.<sup>35</sup> Joel Rosenthal examined the wills of merchants in the late medieval period and found that almost all forms of medieval philanthropy had the purchase of prayers as their ultimate overriding goal and the concern for Purgatory consumed a considerable part of the laity's money and spiritual enthusiasm.<sup>36</sup> He argued that society's elite cooperated with the social system and bought into the idea of purchasing prayers for the afterlife.<sup>37</sup> The elite did not question their dependence upon the poor for eternal salvation and fervently upheld the reciprocal relationship between benefactor and pauper.<sup>38</sup> Post-mortem gift-giving is therefore widely seen as an act primarily concerned with self-interest where donors helped others to help themselves.

Charity distributed at funerals was also highly symbolic with twelve paupers often fed or involved in the funerary procession.<sup>39</sup> A benefactor's priority was often to maximise the number of poor parishioners in attendance at the funeral service, to secure the highest possible volume of prayer. Christopher Dyer cited the example of the Bristol merchant John Shipward the elder who made a will on the 14th December 1473. He bequeathed a good deal of money to provide cloth, bread and ale to the poor worth £3 6s. 8d. He also gave 1d. each to a hundred poor men attending his funeral service, and cloth to a further twenty-four. Dyer argued that this suggests Shipward's primary interest was to attract large numbers to his funeral.<sup>40</sup> A higher number of poor parishioners in attendance, meant a higher number of prayers for the soul in order to facilitate an ascent to heaven.

The Church played a key role in promoting the doctrine of Purgatory and the need for the rich to distribute funds to prevent extended time spent in Purgatory before entering heaven. The Church's motivation for promoting Purgatory was largely self-serving. The Church was

---

<sup>34</sup> M. McIntosh, *Poor Relief and Community in Medieval Hadleigh, Suffolk, 1547-1600*, (Hadleigh: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2013), p.112.

<sup>35</sup> C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.237.

<sup>36</sup> J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The social function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485*, (London, 1972), pp.10-13.

<sup>37</sup> Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, p.29.

<sup>38</sup> Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, p.29.

<sup>39</sup> D. Lepine, 'High Solemn Ceremonies': The Funerary Practice of the Late Medieval English Higher Clergy. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.1 (2010), p.27.

<sup>40</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.249-50.

frequently the direct recipient of charity from wills when benefactors bequeathed sums to repair buildings or to purchase adornments needed for services.<sup>41</sup> Friars, for example, were perhaps most responsible for increasing awareness of the need to prepare for the afterlife but their livelihood was entirely dependent upon charitable benefactions. The rich may have been less willing to support friars without the belief that they were concomitantly aiding their own souls and chances of salvation.<sup>42</sup> It was in the best interests of the Church to promote and instil the doctrine of Purgatory to support their own financial situation and encourage religious loyalty and conformity.

The Church also played a more intermediary role as the distributor of charitable bequests, evidence of which can be found throughout the common fund accounts where canons spent substantial sums on distributing charity on behalf of deceased benefactors. The richest benefactors, whose privilege arguably ensured that they were most in need of redemption and prayer, often secured annual commemorations for the sake of their soul on the anniversary of their death. In return for generous donations, or at times for alienated and endowed land, a religious house would offer annual mass services and offer prayers.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes, such commemorations, known as obits, were to continue in perpetuity. Obits paid for priests to perform mass and regularly involved annual distributions to the poor to inspire further prayers for the soul.<sup>44</sup> Chantries were endowments founded by members of the elite from the late fourteenth century who had concerns for the welfare of their soul in the afterlife.<sup>45</sup> A benefactor could pay for a priest to perform a daily mass at a chantry for the benefit of their soul. Such masses were either within an existing institution or established as a separate entity. Rosenthal argued that chantries emphasise the strength and flexibility of the reciprocal ties between founder-patron and servant-priest.<sup>46</sup> The benefactor offered money to the Church in return for prayers, commemoration, and redemption.

---

<sup>41</sup> J.A. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 16.2 (1965), p.189.

<sup>42</sup> C. Burgess, 'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented': an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England', in S. Wright, *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750*, (Crow's Nest: Allen and Unwin, 1988), pp.56-84.

<sup>43</sup> C. Burgess, 'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 102.405 (1987), pp.837-858.

<sup>44</sup> Burgess, 'By Quick and by Dead', pp.837-858.

<sup>45</sup> K. Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual chantries in Britain*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1965); C. Daniell, *Death and burial in medieval England 1066-1550*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.14-18.

<sup>46</sup> Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, p.44.

Gifts and donations to the poor aimed to incite prayers and commemoration. The resultant poor relief was arguably more of a by-product. The effects on the beneficiary were not as important to the benefactor as protection for their own soul.<sup>47</sup> As a regular beneficiary, the prevalence of this type of charity would have been extremely profitable for the Church, which may explain a principle reason for its proliferation and propagation in society.<sup>48</sup> The Church aimed to pursue and encourage philanthropic behaviour in return for spiritual salvation in order to boost its own fortunes. It was not only the donors who served self-interested aims, but also the development and implementation of the doctrine of Purgatory and the Church's encouragement of adherence to its teachings. The doctrine worked to the advantage of the entire society. The poor received subsistence, the rich received salvation, and the Church received funds. All parties were simultaneously both benefactors and beneficiaries; all working to fulfil their role in the contract to continue the mutually beneficial relationship. A social contract was thus established through gift-giving, in which the roles of both benefactor and beneficiary were reciprocal.<sup>49</sup>

In accordance with Mauss's analysis of ceremonial gift-exchange in archaic societies, the doctrine of Purgatory, and the gift-giving practices it inspired, is an example of gifts functioning as a *Total Social Fact*. Gift-giving was firmly rooted in theological belief but had economic and social implications for the entire population. To show no concern for the afterlife and to fail to participate in the distribution of alms was to revolt against the religious orthodoxy of the Church as a nonbeliever. Purgatory and the gifts it generated brought together rich and poor, laity and cleric, in a continuous cycle of reciprocal exchange. The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter include annual and substantial payments to fulfil obit requests from deceased benefactors. The Chapter's observance of these wishes demonstrates the importance of this reciprocal and cyclical exchange. The Chapter was committed to its intermediary role in distributing charity to the poor and saving the souls of the rich. The obit evidence within the accounts highlight the intermediary role of the Church in cementing ties between the rich and poor, and the living and dead. Obits were the greatest source of Chapter

---

<sup>47</sup> As Chapter Five will later demonstrate, the self-serving motivation to give due to the influence of Purgatory does not detract from the potential of this teaching to elicit much philanthropic behaviour. Chapter Five highlights the extent of charitable giving and argues that the doctrine of Purgatory was responsible for considerable levels of giving and care of the poor.

<sup>48</sup> Income from obits is discussed further in Chapter Five. See D. Lepine, "Their Name Liveth Evermore"? Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in C.M. Barron & C. Burgess, (eds.), 'Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England', *Proceedings on the 2008 Symposium*, (2010), p.69.

<sup>49</sup> For more on the creation of a social contract through charity in medieval England see C. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.249-50; M. Moisa, 'Fourteenth Century Preachers' Views of the Poor: Class or status group?', in R. Samuel & G. Stedman-Jones, *Culture, Ideology and Politics*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1982), pp.160-175.

spending each year with over £370 allocated to the serving chaplains, choir boys and vicars choral or in charity to paupers.

The men and women of fourteenth-century England did not only seek to establish networks and alliances with deceased benefactors. Pilgrims also used ceremonial gift-exchange to create bonds with the Church and those possessing the status of saint, who were believed capable of providing intercession and miracles. Throughout the Middle Ages, the pursuit of miraculous intercession and divine favour inspired members of the laity in their droves to journey to a religious house in order to offer prayers and donations to a chosen saint. A single pilgrim's donation was possibly insignificant to the institution housing the saint, which was probably more concerned with overall volume, but the pilgrim themselves truly believed in the efficacy of such a method in securing divine favour.<sup>50</sup> It was not just the monetary offering that worked to inspire intercession, but the entire process of emanating humility and piety through pilgrimage and prayer. Pilgrims would often travel long distances, sometimes overseas, sometimes barefoot, to show due reverence and piety to their chosen saint.<sup>51</sup>

A modern reader unable to sympathise with the doctrine of Purgatory may also have difficulty in understanding the magnanimity and fervour with which a medieval populous adhered to venerating saints in the hope of miraculous cures. Shrines were a lucrative source of revenue for religious institutions, which demonstrates the high volumes of pilgrims offering donations and prayers.<sup>52</sup> Shrine accounts, chronicles of saints' lives, and canonisation records all indicate the prevalence of pilgrimage and the veneration of saints in medieval society. The qualitative evidence, such as records of a saint's alleged miracles, highlight the range of cure and miracles that pilgrims sought. Miracle accounts are replete with instances of saints curing blindness, madness, or broken limbs.<sup>53</sup> Finucane argued that nine-tenths of all cases of intercession were cures of human illness and classified shrines as centres for faith-healing after alternative therapies had failed to provide a cure.<sup>54</sup> The high number of pilgrims visiting shrines and the vast evidence of miracle reports indicates that the laity truly bought into the concept that saints had the ability to intercede. Pilgrims were so willing to believe in the efficacy of intercession

---

<sup>50</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: popular beliefs in medieval England*, (London: J.M. Dent, 1977), p.39.

<sup>51</sup> More in-depth analysis on pilgrims and their motives is found in chapters three and four.

<sup>52</sup> For an example, see B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, 1998), pp.182-183.

<sup>53</sup> For an example, P. Maddern uses miracles to determine the risks facing children. See P. Maddern, 'Rhetorics of Death and Resurrection: Child Death in Late-Medieval English Miracle Tales', in K. Barclay, K. Reynolds & C. Rawsley, *Death, Emotion and Childhood in Premodern Europe*, (New York: Springer, 2016), pp. 45-63.

<sup>54</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p.59.

that the laity were prepared to accept as a miracle the wildest coincidence and farfetched tale.<sup>55</sup> The medieval laity were clearly invested in the reciprocal contract between pilgrim and saint. Failure to secure a miracle was not deemed a failure of the holy dead but the poor state of the pilgrim's soul and the shallowness of their belief in the saint's curative powers.<sup>56</sup>

In a similar vein to the promotion of Purgatory, the Church also had a significant role to play in propagating the veneration of saints.<sup>57</sup> The Church encouraged such behaviour through indulgences, which were promises of reduced time in Purgatory, and the celebration of patron saints on feast days. Religious houses upheld saints' legacies and their power to intercede in sermons and teachings.<sup>58</sup> Religious houses stood to gain both a lucrative source of revenue and institutional pride and prestige. Logically, religious houses boasting prolific and popular saints benefitted from increased esteem and received the highest numbers of pilgrims, and therefore benefitted from bigger overall donation levels.<sup>59</sup> The Church played an intermediary role by granting pilgrims access to the shrines, tombs, and relics of their chosen saint. In return for a donation, the pilgrim was promised the chance of intercession or the opportunity to relinquish sin.

Gifts to saints were also an example of gift-giving as a *Total Social Fact* in medieval society. Gift-giving at shrines involved a substantial proportion of the population and had economic, religious, social, and even medical implications. Gifts to saints were not purely displays of religious piety but were driven by the belief that intercession was a viable and effective means of securing remedy from afflictions. For institutions housing saints, pilgrimage brought both economic and social gain.<sup>60</sup> Belief in saints and pilgrimage was more than a simple religious exercise. It was a custom, habit, escape, and form of entertainment and brought together all levels of society, from king, to clergyman, to beggar.<sup>61</sup> Both pilgrimage and Purgatory highlight the ways in which the dead were a very real presence amongst the living and are

---

<sup>55</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p.55.

<sup>56</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p.82.

<sup>57</sup> There was a limit to a religious house's ability to promote pilgrimage to their institution. Chapter Three discusses the role of the Church in promoting cults and the effects of the papacy attempting to limit an endless proliferation of saints and relics.

<sup>58</sup> M. O'Carroll, 'The Friars and the Liturgy in the Thirteenth Century', *La predicazione dei frati dalla meta del 200 alla fine del 300*, (Spolete, 1995), pp.201-207; M.C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp.17-18.

<sup>59</sup> This is explored further in Chapters Three and Four. For analysis on the revenue generated by shrines, see B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp.182-183.

<sup>60</sup> D.J. Hall, *English Medieval Pilgrimage*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p.7.

<sup>61</sup> Hall, *English Medieval Pilgrimage*, p.1.

prime examples of how donors sought to serve themselves whilst serving others. Self-interest and altruism were entangled.<sup>62</sup>

An understanding of the motivations and implications of gift-giving inspired by religious teachings and the Church is crucial to the development of this thesis. Obits and gifts to the poor frequent the financial records at Lincoln Cathedral with no qualitative information on the donors and their wishes to suggest the purpose or function. The conceptual framework that post-mortem giving to the Church and poor alike is mutually beneficial to donor and recipient through the creation of reciprocal ties of obligation can thus be applied to the evidence of philanthropy in the accounts. Similarly, pilgrim donations were a lucrative source of revenue for the Cathedral. An understanding of what motivated pilgrims to offer donations aids analysis on the changing relationship between pilgrim, saint, and Cathedral Chapter throughout the fourteenth century. It highlights that such gifts to saints and the poor, prime examples of giving inspired by religious faith and teachings, were motivated by the creation of social bonds and mutually beneficial contracts, and that they are best understood as part of ceremonial exchange.

### *The Role of Networks*

The common fund accounts also provide an insight into how the Cathedral Chapter acted as a cohesive social unit through gift-giving. The gifts recorded in the accounts offer an example of institutional giving and highlight the role of gifts in furthering the social position of the Chapter as a collective body of canons. To understand the motivations of institutional gift-giving at Lincoln Cathedral, the following section explores existing theories on giving and collective identities. Theories suggest that institutional giving serves two primary functions. Firstly, it binds members of the institution together as a familial unit and secondly, it cements the position of the institution within wider local networks. Gifts and networks become mutually dependent and symbiotic. Once a gift establishes a network, more gift-giving occurs. The network or group, created through gift-exchange, acts as a precursor to increased giving. To analyse how ceremonial gift-exchange achieved social cohesion and collective identities, the following section explores theories on the role of the network with an evaluation of wills, gilds, and evidence of communal self-help.

Scholarship concerning modern societies highlights the importance of networks in eliciting gift-giving behaviour. Social network theory gained prominence in the late 1990s and

---

<sup>62</sup> Burgess, "A Fond Thing Vainly Invented", p.67.



reassessed the link between internalised religious belief and charitable giving, which was explored above. Social network theory stipulates that any correlation between religiosity and philanthropy is ultimately masking the more important relationship between charity and community spirit. This theory does not negate the findings of academics such as Brooks and Berger, who argue that there is increased philanthropy amongst religious people, but it suggests that attending church services and becoming involved in a wider community network are the real causes of philanthropic activity, and not the internalised religious beliefs themselves. Scholars applying social network theory assert that strong religious beliefs alone are not enough to guarantee charitable behaviour, but a strong positive relationship between gift-giving and religion exists amongst frequent church-goers. Membership of a community opens the eyes of the richer members to the strife of those around them, which develops an emotive tie via which potential benefactors may feel obliged to provide relief.<sup>63</sup>

Religious affiliations still play a vital role in gift-giving as secular gatherings do not have the same effect at encouraging charitable attitudes. Lyons and Nivison-Smith argued that religious inclination is a precursor to church attendance and only participation in religious congregations has a positive effect on the level of charitable gift-giving.<sup>64</sup> The submergence within a religious social network, required to encourage giving, is only achieved through religious beliefs. However, the theory suggests that those with strongly held religious beliefs who practice privately are no more likely than non-believers to behave philanthropically. Attendance at congregations is paramount in encouraging individuals to donate to charity because they will regularly listen to persuasive sermons and are part of discussions relating to the obligation of the Church to care for those in need. Members of the congregation are made aware of the importance of their role as a benefactor and are frequently reminded of their obligation to provide remedy to poverty and misfortune.<sup>65</sup> Arguably peer pressure or competition associated with social networks contributes to increased giving. Gift-exchange is therefore understood as

---

<sup>63</sup> S.H. Clain & C.E. Zech, 'A Household Production Analysis of Religious Giving and Charitable Activity', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 58.4 (1999), pp.923-946; D.V.A. Olson & D. Caddell, 'Generous Congregations, Generous Givers: congregational contexts that stimulate individual giving', *Review of Religious Research*, 36 (1994), pp.168-180; A. Portes, 'Social Capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24 (1998), pp.1-24.

<sup>64</sup> M. Lyons & I. Nivison-Smith, 'Religion and Giving in Australia', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 41.4 (2006), pp.419-436.

<sup>65</sup> R.M. Emerson, 'Social exchange theory', *Annual review of sociology*, 2.1 (1976), pp.335-362; J.F. Sherry Jr, 'Gift giving in anthropological perspective', *Journal of consumer research*, 10.2 (1983), pp.157-168; N. Lin, 'Building a network theory of social capital', *Connections*, 22.1 (1991), pp.28-51.

a combination of both religiosity and networking that culminates in increased charitable behaviour.

An opposing school of thought within social network theory argues that secular groups can also elicit community spirit and opposes the stance that networks which encourage charitable giving are exclusively religious. A founding argument is that the correlation between active participation in religious networks only appears stronger because religious congregations are the most prevalent form of organised social gatherings. Consequently, religious people are more susceptible to being involved in an organised social network and therefore appear more philanthropic. Many academics focus on the effect that any form of social community has on philanthropic behaviour and argue that any network, which opens an individual up to a wider society, has the potential to have a positive effect on encouraging prosocial attitudes.<sup>66</sup> Whether religious in character or not, members of social networks are more empathetic to the needs of their neighbours and peers.

Studies on medieval gift-giving similarly argue that networks and belonging to a social group facilitate increased philanthropic and prosocial behaviour. Analysis of gift-giving behaviour reveals the extent of the simple familial unit and the strongest kin connections. Regular offerings between spouses suggests strong familial relationships whereas very few instances between siblings indicates a more distant connection. Rosenthal's study of wills of the elite highlighted the role of familial ties in gift-giving. He examined the distribution of bequests to determine the types of networks and alliances amongst elite kin groups in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His study questioned what elite philanthropic acts reveals about their social bonds and self-identification.<sup>67</sup> Rosenthal argued that gift-giving allowed donors relative freedom to act as they wished, but within a framework of expectations, prescriptions, and demands.<sup>68</sup> The study concluded that kinship was founded upon patrilineal bonds. Provisions in wills were largely offered to wife, son, and unmarried daughters. Siblings, cousins, aunts, or uncles were rarely recipients of bequests, which affords some sympathy for those unmarried

---

<sup>66</sup> P.R. Amato, 'Personality and Social Network Involvement as Predictors of Helping Behaviour in Everyday Life', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53.1 (1990), pp.31-43; M.D. Jackson et al., 'Volunteering and Charitable Giving: do religious and associational ties promote helping behaviour?', *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 24 (1995), pp.59-78; S.V. Monsma, 'Religion and Philanthropic Giving and Volunteering: building blocks for civic responsibility', *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 1.3 (2007), pp.2-28; B. Vaidyanathan, C. Smith & J.P. Hill, 'Religion and Charitable Financial Giving to Religious and Secular Causes: does political ideology matter?', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 50.3 (2011), pp.450-469.

<sup>67</sup> Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, p.3.

<sup>68</sup> Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, p.7.

who were unlikely to have inherited from siblings, aunts or uncles.<sup>69</sup> Familial ties clearly had a strong influence on gift-giving behaviour. This methodology for analysing familial units through the distribution of gifts can be applied to the common fund accounts. The thesis will evaluate the gifts offered by the Cathedral Chapter to examine the nature of the relationship between the brotherhood of canons responsible for the daily workings of the Cathedral in order to establish whether canons behaved in a comparable manner to other familial units.

Another form of charity or act of gift-giving which highlights the role of community and social bonds is the evidence of Church-Ales and mutual self-help occurring across England in the Middle Ages. J.M. Bennet's study of the role of social gatherings in which local parishioners would raise money for poor neighbours through the selling of ale highlights how a sense of community and network increased prosocial behaviour.<sup>70</sup> Bennet argued that Church-Ales depended upon the creation and development of reciprocal relationships between donor and recipients. This form of philanthropy between middling parishioners, all of whom lived or worked in the same locality, occurred widely. It was less about the rich giving to the poor as donors knew the recipients and were aware of their own precarious financial state. In the possible near future, donors could themselves become recipients and dependent upon the support of peers and neighbours.<sup>71</sup> Their sense of belonging to a social group or community thus inspired gift-giving and philanthropic attitudes.

Larger networks, outside of the nuclear family or the local parish, also shaped gift-giving behaviour. Networks led to increased ceremonial giving because they generated a heightened awareness to the plight and struggle of others whilst perpetuating the desire for the social group to be firmly situated within the wider community. Two of the most common forms of medieval networks were guilds and fraternities, which welcomed both men and women and sought to establish familial ties between members. Guilds partook in prosocial acts such as feasts, charitable distributions, and financed the construction of bridges to benefit the whole community. This gave brothers and sisters of a fraternity direct contact with those in need of help, experience of realising a moral initiative, and an empowering sense of public worth.<sup>72</sup> The need for guilds to develop ties between members and the wider community led to gift-giving and philanthropic behaviour. Most guilds, particularly those in urban settings, promised the

---

<sup>69</sup> Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, p.17.

<sup>70</sup> J.M. Bennet, 'Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 134 (1992), pp.19-41.

<sup>71</sup> Bennet, 'Conviviality and Charity', p.40.

<sup>72</sup> G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.78.

distribution of charitable provisions. Gervase Rosser argued that charitable activity was crucial to developing a sense of social responsibility and an ethical purpose amongst gild members.<sup>73</sup> The sense of belonging to a community ensured that gild members became more conscious of the needs of those around them. They were aware of the vulnerability of their neighbours, which increased the desire to contribute to their welfare and fostered the development of personal ties with those who were helped.<sup>74</sup> Gifts were an effective means of establishing solidarity and friendship between the members themselves and the wider community.

In addition to aiding the wider local community, gilds offered recurrent support to impoverished members in times of need. However, studies on gilds and their philanthropy repeatedly uphold the importance of the public image of a gild, and the concern for reputation in gift-giving. Ben McRee's study of gild charity and provisions suggests that philanthropic acts were rarely aimed at ameliorating the condition of the poor and argued that there was a substantial discrepancy between promise and practice.<sup>75</sup> Many gilds promised charity to members who had fallen on hard times. The idea was that the gild could temporarily support a member and their family if the means for earning their livelihood had been destroyed. McRee found many issues with the conclusion that the needs of impoverished members were at the core of such provisions and argued that there is little evidence to suggest such charitable support was offered frequently. It was not the interests of the members themselves that stood at the heart of gild charity but the threat of impoverished members damaging the institution's public image. Gild statutes often stipulated that members had financial protection from leprosy, loss of limb, paralysis, blindness, and robberies or fires.<sup>76</sup> However, provisions for charity appeared most frequently in the returns of wealthy urban gilds with active corporate lives and high public profiles who were perhaps the least likely to need to offer aid to their members.<sup>77</sup>

The prime motivation of members was to protect the interests of the gild's brothers and sisters and to protect the public image of the organisation.<sup>78</sup> Being a member of a gild was an assurance of credit and status. Rosser argued that there was significant social capital attached

---

<sup>73</sup> Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, p.86.

<sup>74</sup> Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, p.80.

<sup>75</sup> B. McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32.3 (1993), p.204.

<sup>76</sup> McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity', p.204.

<sup>77</sup> McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity', p.202.

<sup>78</sup> McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity', p.198.

to a gild boasting a positive public image.<sup>79</sup> The survival of the gild was at stake if members were destitute. Gift-giving enabled gilds to create a strong collective identity through shared values and mutual obligation.<sup>80</sup> Despite not being motivated by altruistic intent or selfless concern, Rosser stated that the moral relationship gifts established between gilds and the outside world still achieved much good.<sup>81</sup>

The principle concepts derived from an analysis of gild philanthropy can be applied to this current study on the gift-giving practices of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. Theories of institutional charity emphasise the importance of a collective identity and public perceptions of the institution within the wider community. This aids a later understanding of whether the body of canons used gift-giving in a similar way to create a collective and cohesive institutional identity through gift-giving. The importance of self-preservation within the existing historiography suggests that the gifts of Lincoln Chapter may reflect a similar desire to secure the longevity of the institution. The thesis applies these ideas on the role of the gift to further scrutinise canons' decisions when practicing ceremonial gift-exchange. It considers the types of networks the canons sought to cultivate and explores how the ceremonial gift furthered institutional goals and desires. Theories on gild charity and solidarity suggest that the brotherhood of canons may have used ceremonial gifts in a similar way to preserve institutional interests and promote a favourable public reputation. The thesis uses these ideas to determine if gifts enabled the Cathedral Chapter to create a collective identity and situate itself within wider local networks and communities.

### *The Role of Altruism and Generosity*

The common fund accounts contain numerous examples of the canons offering generous gifts to important secular and religious figures, which are further analysed in Chapter Five. To understand why such gifts were given, it is important to conceptualise the purpose of giving to powerful members of the elite. An exploration of existing theories on gift-exchange amongst elite individuals and institutions suggests that both medieval and modern donors sought social gratification through acts of generosity. They attempted to create and develop bonds through the creation of a socially desirable public image. Altruism does not motivate such gifts but the need to appear altruistic and prosocial is crucial to the development of bonds of friendship

---

<sup>79</sup> Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, p.87.

<sup>80</sup> McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity', p.211.

<sup>81</sup> Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, p.87.

and community. However, if the true aim of appearing generous is too readily apparent, the gift can fail to establish social ties. There is a fine balance between appearing altruistic and appearing self-promoting.

Research into a modern society suggests that public acceptance and recognition of a gift remains a fundamental part of giving. Since the turn of the twenty-first century, studies from a variety of disciplines, including economics, social science, psychology, and biology, have concentrated on the nature of public gifts and acts of philanthropy.<sup>82</sup> It is now widely accepted that observation has a positive influence on the generosity of the donor. Public approval drives ceremonial gift-exchange. A donor stands to receive social validation and power through the donation of a gift. A benefactor can create a socially desirable image and initiate favourable alliances through generous gestures, which require recognition and acknowledgement. Scientific studies found that images of eyes over honesty boxes are sufficient to increase the volume of funds collected. An image of watchful eyes creates the perception that the donor is being watched, which has a positive effect on cooperation and prosocial behaviour.<sup>83</sup> Even cartoon pictures reminding a donor that they are being watched triggers a prosocial response as individuals are highly concerned with adhering to social customs. The conclusion that individuals display prosocial behaviour in a public setting highlights donors' desire to seek acceptance from peers. Private exchange allows the donor to feel good, ceremonial exchange allows the donor to look good.

The theory that self-image can be pivotal at determining gift-giving practices reflects a narcissistic and self-glorifying aspect of human nature. In order to give, individuals demand an elevated social position and call upon their peers to recognise and applaud their generosity. However, research into modern examples of gift-exchange indicates a fine balance between gaining social prestige from gift-giving and facing open criticism. If the aim of gaining social gratification is too highly apparent, donors are condemned for their pursuit of self-serving interests. Donors are then accused of possessing an egocentric image of selfishness and high self-worth and the overwhelming motivation to create a positive self-image is seen as negating

---

<sup>82</sup> D. Ariely, A. Bracha & S. Bracha, 'Doing Good or Doing Well? Image Motivation and Monetary Incentives in Behaving Prosocially', *American Economic Review*, 99.1 (2009), pp.544-555' C. Cueva & R. Dessi, 'Charitable Giving, Self-image and Personality', *TSE*, (2012); M. Bateson, D. Nettle, & G. Roberts, 'Cues of Being Watched Enhance Cooperation in a Real-World Setting', *Biology Letters*, 2, (2006), pp.412-414; K.J. Haley & D.M.T. Fessler, 'Nobody's Watching? Subtle Cues affect Generosity in an Anonymous Game', *Evolution of Human Behaviour*, 26, (2005), pp.245-256.

<sup>83</sup> Bateson, Nettle, & Roberts, 'Cues of Being Watched', pp.412-414; K.J. Haley & D.M.T. Fessler, 'Nobody's Watching?', pp.245-256.

any sense of philanthropic action. Such criticisms are widely reserved for the most elite forms of gift-giving; namely expensive and elaborate galas and the popular trend amongst young westerners termed 'voluntourism'. Elite forms of giving are largely viewed as self-interested and a tool by which the wealthiest in society can pacify their own guilt for hoarding an unfair proportion of the world's riches.

Volunteer tourism, or 'Voluntourism' is a prime example of self-motivated charity whereby donors are primarily concerned with their own self-image. The phenomenon involves underqualified and under-experienced young rich individuals spending their gap years in developing countries under the illusion of improving and benefitting poor communities. Voluntourists are often required to help build schools, dig wells, or run orphanages and conservation sites. While many involved with such projects are undoubtedly true philanthropists, many others are condemned for bolstering their own CVs without making any meaningful contribution to the communities. Alison McIntosh and Anne Zahra conducted a study into motivations to undertake an international volunteering programme. They observed that voluntourism had previously been viewed in a positive light as widely altruistic. Voluntourists were regarded as selfless individuals and motivated to do good.<sup>84</sup> An analysis of the diaries and interviews with those from supported communities suggested that programmes were mutually beneficial. However, in recent years, voluntourism has become to be viewed as patronising and potentially damaging. There is a danger that the most privileged in western society could inadvertently belittle poorer communities across the globe. What initially began as an affordable way to travel the world and contribute to the welfare of others now faces much condemnation. The apparent aim of providing relief to poor disadvantaged communities masks the true motivation for personal gain to impress universities or prospective employers.<sup>85</sup>

A contentious debate has now arisen throughout blogposts and articles on social media, but a significant gap remains in academic research to further explore the effects of voluntourism.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> A. McIntosh & A. Zahra, 'A Cultural Encounter through Volunteer Tourism: towards the ideals of sustainable tourism?', *Journal for Sustainable Tourism*, 15 (2007), pp.541-556.

<sup>85</sup> McIntosh & Zahra, 'A Cultural Encounter', pp.541-556.

<sup>86</sup> For an example of the debate, see S. Blackledge, 'In Defence of Voluntourism', *The Guardian African-Network*, (2013); O. Mohamud, 'Beware of the Volunteer's Good', *The Guardian African-Network*, (2013); P. Biddle, 'The Problem with Little White Girls, Boys, and Voluntourism', *The Huffington Post, The Blog*, (2014); J. Brown, 'Voluntourism is a waste of time and money: and gappers are better off working in Britain', *The Independent*, (2014); L. Kasak & S. Dasgupta, '#instagrammingafrica: the Narcissism of Global Voluntourism', *The Pacific Standard*, (2014); R. Zakari, 'The White Tourists' Burden', *Aljazeera America*, (2014).

It is now widely perceived as an appealing way for the most privileged in western society, who have little or no valuable or transferable skills, to feed their own egos. In the process, they risk damaging the communities with which they engage due to their lack of experience and expertise. A prevailing and condemnatory argument suggests that voluntourism is an elitist form of charity through which only the rich can reap the benefits of offerings their hand and can often contribute to a 'white-saviour' complex. An example of a particularly poignant article, written by a self-confessed ex-voluntourist, argues how young westerners are turning the developing world into their playground to assuage the guilt of their privilege.<sup>87</sup> The existence of volunteer tourism and its controversial reception in society suggests that the spiritual benefit to the donor, and the desire to display a particular public image, can be too highly apparent. The voluntourist's quest to appear altruistic for their own social gain prevents society viewing their behaviour as commendable and admirable. The recent criticism of voluntourism highlights the precarious position of the donor. If their desire to appear philanthropic is obvious, their aim to create social bonds and a prosocial self-image cannot be achieved. Generosity has limits and observers to acts of charity can be acutely aware of a donor's desire for self-publicity.

The idea of elite charity as a tool for social pacification has undergone much academic scrutiny. Scholars have analysed and debated the true nature of charity galas and banquets to determine that elite charity is dominated by concerns of self-image. By hosting extravagant events under the guise of philanthropy, wealthy people aim to promote an image of respectability and generosity. The elite use charity and gift-giving to justify their immense privilege and encourage the belief that their accumulation of excessive wealth can help the poor. However, too often, in practice very little money reaches the hands of those who need it most. In 2008, A Google Inc. sponsored survey of philanthropic giving conducted by Indiana University, revealed that only 8 per cent of donations from galas was spent on housing and other necessities for poor Americans.<sup>88</sup> The distribution of charitable donations raised through elite giving suggests that such philanthropy continues to patronise and perpetuate those institutions which are the preserves of the highly affluent, despite the internet and globalisation widening opportunities to contribute to worldwide suffering and poverty.<sup>89</sup> Galas and banquets are

---

<sup>87</sup> Mohamud, 'Beware the Voluntourist'.

<sup>88</sup> J. Hanson, 'Culture, Change and Cascading Damage at a Local United Way', *Journal of Non-Profit and Public Sector Marketing*, 20.1 (2008), pp.119-132; J. Hanson, 'The Anthropology and Giving: towards a cultural logic of charity', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 8.4 (2015), pp.501-517.

<sup>89</sup> Hanson, 'Culture, Change and Cascading Damage', pp.119-132; Hanson, 'The Anthropology and Giving', pp.501-517.



primarily organised by the rich as part of a ritualised and public charitable culture and remain a visible circuit of wealth by creating a symbolic world that, as Hanson stated, ‘redistributes the financial power of the wealthy only temporarily, before returning it to them as enhanced power and personal prestige’.<sup>90</sup> Theories on the rich using gift-exchange to pacify the poor or justify their wealth can be applied to the Cathedral Chapter’s giving practices. The thesis applies the idea that charity diminishes a wealthy donor’s guilt through an analysis of both individual and institutional giving to the poor. The analysis explores the extent to which philanthropy was symbolic and allowed the donor to appear charitable without having to part with too much of their own riches.

The condemnation and criticism of donors who too clearly seek public approval and admiration highlights the role of altruism in public giving. If a donor’s generosity is too obviously motivated by the desire to appear altruistic, their ceremonial gift fails. For a gift to be successful and bring benefits to both benefactor and beneficiary, donors need to find the middle ground; generous enough to elicit positive recognition and approval but not so generous as to appear self-promotional. The conclusion that morality has limits and a ceremonial gift fails if the donor’s aim to appear prosocial is too visible can be applied throughout this thesis. It explores whether concerns to appear philanthropic influenced gift-giving in a medieval society and the extent to which symbolic gifts were preferred over excessively generous ones. The thesis evaluates the most regular recipients of the Cathedral Chapter’s giving to determine the proportion of gifts intended to provide for the less fortunate, compared to gifts designed to bolster the social position of the institution. Such an analysis facilitates an understanding of the Chapter’s true intentions when offering gifts. It allows for an analysis of the symbolism of gift-giving in the fourteenth century and the need to adhere to societal customs.

Recurrent themes emerging in studies of archaic, medieval, and modern giving suggests that ceremonial gift-exchange is a fundamental and widely-used tool to create and develop social bonds. Public gifts contribute to the development of social cohesion and a favourable self-image. Altruism is not the driving force behind modern or medieval ceremonial giving, yet concerns to appear as charitable, generous, and altruistic play a significant role in donor behaviour. Ultimately, ceremonial gifts worked to establish social bonds in medieval, as they do in modern, society, but the development of such bonds can only be achieved if the donor promotes a prosocial disposition. The successful creation of bonds rests upon the donor’s

---

<sup>90</sup> Hanson, ‘The Anthropology of Giving’, p.516.

ability to convince observers that their ceremonial gift is motivated by altruism. Rosser remarked that relationships between guild members in medieval England were understood to have derived from a willingness to care for others for their own sake and that such a moral economy was a valuable resource in the creation of trust, without which social bonds could not exist.<sup>91</sup> The creation of trust in developing relationships is arguably true of all public gifts. Ceremonial gifts are not primarily motivated by the desire to do good but the aspiration of the donor to look good creates trust and social cohesion. Donors help themselves by helping others, which is ultimately the crux of ceremonial gift-exchange.

### *Economic Considerations and Ceremonial Gift-Exchange*

A principle aim of this thesis is to analyse the impact of economic shocks on gift-giving trends throughout the fourteenth century. To aid such an analysis, the remainder of this chapter seeks to explore existing theories on the role of economics on gift-exchange practices and donor behaviour. Firstly, it must be noted that gift-giving fulfils a different role in society than trade. The desire for economic gain does not play a role in motivating the ceremonial gift. Scholars from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Adam Smith, Karl Polanyi, and Max Weber, have been widely criticised for their failure to explicitly differentiate gift-giving from trade.<sup>92</sup> Such scholars combined gift and economic exchange together, which is highly problematic as both phenomena can co-exist and fulfil entirely different functions.<sup>93</sup> Max Weber and Karl Polanyi even coined the expression ‘gift trade’, seemingly unaware of the contradiction it entailed because trade is solely governed by financial self-interest, whereas gift-exchange requires reciprocal recognition.<sup>94</sup> However, there is some evidence to suggest that concerns for economic stability influence gift-giving behaviour, but there is no consistency in the way that economic change shapes the value of the gift. Where one economic down-turn decreases prosocial attitudes as donors protect their own financial self-interest, the next increases the level of charitable giving as the gifts are deemed more valuable and necessary. Economic considerations also affect the supply and demand for gift-giving. Trends in

---

<sup>91</sup> Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, pp.227-228.

<sup>92</sup> Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, p.110; K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1957); M. Weber & J. Cohen, (ed.), *General Economic History*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1981). (first published in 1927).

<sup>93</sup> Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, pp.110-114.

<sup>94</sup> Hénaff, *Price of Truth*, p.110; Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*; Weber, *General Economic History*.

economic stability affect ceremonial and public gift-exchange and shape the value of both the initial gift and the anticipated return gift or reward.

Modern scholarship has explored how the promise of economic gain can reduce instances of prosocial behaviour. Experiments involving monetary incentives and ranging levels of visibility revealed that donors tend to offer more generous gifts and donations in a public setting, to compete with their peers. However, if donors are publically offered a reward for their gift, the level of donation decreases. Donors do not want to be seen to be acting out of financial self-interest. Monetary incentives have a limited but positive effect on private or anonymous gift-giving. Only if their actions are invisible to peers and the public are donors more likely to seek the benefits of a monetary reward.<sup>95</sup> This relationship between visibility, economic reward, and gift-giving highlights the separation between economic gain through trade and social gain through gift-giving.

Ariely, Bracha, and Bracha offer an analogy to explain the negative correlation between monetary incentives and public giving. They argue that if an individual wants to purchase a hybrid car, they may be motivated by the desire promote themselves in a certain way whilst reducing their carbon footprint. However, the implementation of a government scheme in which purchasers of hybrid cars receive substantial tax-based rewards, which would make the price much more attractive, would also negate the social prestige of owning an environmentally-friendly vehicle. Any rise in the number of purchases of hybrid cars incentivised by tax-based price reductions would potentially be counterbalanced by a decline in the number of potential buyers deterred by the loss of social gain. The same logic applies to more philanthropic gift-giving. For example, financial rewards for blood donations may decrease attendance at blood drives.<sup>96</sup> Cash incentives reduce the potential gains in social prestige, which take precedence in gift-exchange.

The prospect of economic reward can have a detrimental effect on gift-giving. The negative correlation between financial incentives and philanthropic acts helps to conceptualise and understand the motives of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter when offering gifts to local paupers and passing nobles alike. The gifts were not financial investments. The Chapter did not hope to oblige recipients to repay their gifts with more generous or expensive return offerings. Instead,

---

<sup>95</sup> D. Ariely, A Bracha, & S. Bracha, 'Doing Good or Doing Well? Image Motivation and Monetary Incentives in Behaving Prosocially', *American Economic Review*, 99.1 (2009), pp.544-555; C. Cueva & R. Dessi, 'Charitable Giving, Self-Image, and Peronality', *TSE* (2012).

<sup>96</sup> Ariely et al. 'Doing Good', p.545.

the creation of a positive public image through gifts was a social investment and a means of gaining acceptance within desirable communities and networks. The creation of a prosocial collective identity and the chance of inclusion within elite circles likely played a significant role in shaping the Chapter's gift-giving practices.

The role of economic considerations in determining the level of gift-giving has surged in recent years, perhaps as a response to the financial crisis and credit crunch. Economic determinants of charity and gift-giving have come under scrutiny. Studies widely conclude that potential donors are often undeterred from gift-giving in times of economic hardship as the social value of the gift has increased. Donors are also significantly more responsive to economic improvement than decline.<sup>97</sup> In other words, there is a stronger correlation between improvements in a country's economic situation and increased instances of charitable giving than economic downturns and reduced philanthropy. Donors gain a heightened awareness of the value of their gift in times of economic distress. Those who may be deterred from gift-giving due to concerns for their own economic position are counteracted by others who perceive their gift to be more valuable to their recipient and therefore more socially valuable to themselves. There is also a strong and subconscious pressure to maintain previous giving levels. Donors may be initially unaware of downturns and then feel compelled to continue giving at the same rate.<sup>98</sup>

Douty has extended research on the impact of economic considerations on gift-giving through an analysis of sudden catastrophic events and natural disasters. He developed the theory of disaster syndrome, in which individuals increase philanthropic activity to build a sense of communal solidarity in periods of extreme economic and social distress.<sup>99</sup> Such a finding contradicts traditional economic theory, which dictates that a disaster should lead to higher prices of necessities and a greater level of antisocial behaviour due to confusion and uncertainty. Douty analysed a range of events and found that in the immediate aftermath of disasters, generosity and philanthropy increased. Resources were used differently and with more compassion. However, the initial acts of altruism were short-lived as donors ultimately took care of their own interests during prolonged periods of economic change. Ultimately economic self-interest prevailed.<sup>100</sup> Other studies have arrived at similar conclusions when

---

<sup>97</sup> J.A. List, 'A Market for Charitable Giving', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25.2 (2011), p.160.

<sup>98</sup> List, 'Market for Charitable Giving', pp.158-180.

<sup>99</sup> C.M. Douty, 'Disasters and Charity: some aspects of cooperative behavior', *The American Economic Review*, 62.4 (1972), p.580.

<sup>100</sup> Douty, 'Disasters and Charity', p.582.

analysing the relationship between sudden drops in income and charitable activity. When it becomes apparent that the donor faces long-term financial insecurities, they behave to protect their own wellbeing.<sup>101</sup>

Douty's conclusions on the effects of disasters or sudden economic shocks on gift-giving can be applied to the current thesis on gift-exchange in the fourteenth century, a period that saw several episodes of social and economic unrest resulting from famine, bullion shortages, and plague. The finding that philanthropic behaviour increases in the immediate aftermath of disaster can be tested against the actions of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter in the years following famine and plague. The thesis explores whether the Chapter and inhabitants of Lincoln behaved in a similar way to those individuals studied by Douty during disasters due to a perceived increase in the value of their gifts. The thesis aims to evaluate the point that economic self-interest prevailed. The analysis of gift-giving and socio-economic change highlights that potential donors may behave one way in the few years following a disaster, and then revert to more self-interested behaviour if economic threats are sustained. The conclusion that donors are more acutely aware of economic improvements than decline can be tested throughout the remainder of this thesis. It evaluates whether there was a pressure to continue previous levels of giving in times of hardship and determines how changes in the wider economy mitigated and shaped the value of social relationships developed through reciprocal gift-exchange.

A further area which will be explored in more depth throughout this thesis is the effect of income and institutional or individual wealth in encouraging gift-exchange. Whether the rich or poor were more likely to initiate gift-giving has implications for our understanding of the type of donors offering gifts to the Cathedral. It also can be used to suggest when the Cathedral Chapter was most likely to behave philanthropically. The thesis applies theories on economic change and gift-giving to determine whether canons were more likely to offer gifts when they were best able to supply them or when their gifts were in the most demand. Sociologists and economists have analysed the gift-giving behaviour of the different classes and income groups. Logic dictates that the richest in society are the most likely to offer gifts as they have the greatest proportion of expendable wealth.<sup>102</sup> Theoretically, as the level of available funds

---

<sup>101</sup> G.E. Auten, H. Sieg, & C.Y. Clotfelter, 'Charitable Giving, Income, and Taxes: an analysis of panel data', *The American Economic Review*, 92 (2000), pp.371-382.

<sup>102</sup> See G.E. Auten, J. Cilke & W. Randolph, 'The Effects of Tax Reform of Charitable Contributions', *National Tax Journal*, 45 (1992), pp.267-290; J. Banks & S. Tanner, 'Patterns in Household Giving: Evidence from the UK Data', *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations*, 10 (1999), pp.167-178; K.S.

increases, so does the ability to give it away. However, this assumption is widely contested. Since the 1980s, a correlation between wealth and philanthropic dispositions has been largely rejected. The notion that charitable behaviour and income increase at similar rates was a starting point for other theories, which more accurately reflect the relationship between personal wealth and benevolence. Some studies have suggested that the highest earners are the most philanthropic, but levels of giving are then static amongst the poor, middling and above average households who all give similar levels.<sup>103</sup>

There are two main theories on the correlation between personal wealth and the level of charitable gift-giving. Clotfelter and Steule first developed the theory termed the U-shaped curve in 1981.<sup>104</sup> Their research limits the participants of surveys to the 5 per cent of individuals or households who donate over 10 per cent of their after-tax income, which highlights that only a very small segment of society donate significant sums to charity. The U-shaped curve suggests that the most generous in society, measurable by the proportion of income spent on philanthropic activity, are the lowest and highest income households, while the least philanthropic households are the average households. The U-shape curve arches gradually down from the lowest income families until it reaches its lowest point amongst the middle earners. After this point, it rises alongside income. The theory was originally coined in the 1980s and is still regularly cited, regaining momentum following James and Sharpe's study in 2007.<sup>105</sup> Actual donations may increase alongside earnings but, in proportion to income, the poorest and richest offer the most gifts.

A second prominent theory stemmed from research conducted by Hoge and Yang in the mid-1990s. It revealed a linear and downward trend in the relationship between wealth and

---

Barrett, 'Panel-Data Estimates of Charitable Giving: A Synthesis of Techniques' Generosity? Evidence for the UK', *Education Economics*, 8 (2000), pp.65-80; A.C. Brooks, 'Does Social Capital make you Generous?', *Social Science Quarterly*, 86 (2005), pp.1-15; K.G. Carman, 'Social Influences and the Private Provision of Public Goods: Evidence from Charitable Contributions in the Workplace', *Discussion Paper Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, Stanford University*, (2006); Y.S. Choe & J. Jeong, 'Charitable Contributions by low and middle income taxpayers: further evidence with a new method', *National Tax Journal*, 46 (1993), pp.33-39; M. Feldstein, 'The Income Tax and Charitable Contributions: Part I - Aggregate and Distributional Effects', *The National Tax Journal*, 28 (1975), pp.81-99.

<sup>103</sup> G.E. Auten, Cilke & Randolph, 'The Effects of Tax Reform of Charitable Contributions', pp.267-290; Banks & Tanner, 'Patterns in Household Giving', pp.167-178; Barrett, 'Panel-Data Estimates of Charitable Giving', pp.65-80; Brooks, 'Does Social Capital make you Generous?', pp.1-15; Carman, 'Social Influences and the Private Provision of Public Goods'; Choe & Jeong, 'Charitable Contributions by low and middle income taxpayers', pp.33-39; Feldstein, 'The Income Tax and Charitable Contributions', pp.81-99.

<sup>104</sup> C.T. Clotfelter & C.E. Steuerle, 'Charitable contributions', in H. Aaron & J. Pechman (eds.), *How taxes affect economic behaviour* (Washington, 1981), pp. 403-437.

<sup>105</sup> R.N. James & D.L. Sharpe, 'The Nature and Causes of the U-Shaped Charitable Giving Profile', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 36 (2007), pp.218-238.

charitable giving, which completely contradicts any positive relationship between charity and income.<sup>106</sup> According to this theory, the poorest are proportionately the most philanthropic, and levels of gift-giving decline as income increases. Hoge and Yang developed this theory based on the premise that the religious poor are the most philanthropic. However, their methodology was soon repeated to analyse secular charity and led to similar results.<sup>107</sup> The theory acknowledges that a certain level of income is required to facilitate an individual giving money away. However, the philanthropic behaviour of participants above the minimum threshold reveals a persistent negative effect of income on the proportion of wealth donated. The theory proposed a standard hypothesis, which stipulates that the absolute value of donations is similar amongst all income groups. In charity fundraising campaigns, for example, people are often asked to give a set amount regardless of their economic situation. Charities may solicit regular monthly donations of a certain value, which ensures that proportionally the poorest donors pay more.

Some sociologists suggest that the lower classes are a more empathetic social group who are most likely to identify with the needs of others. Their heightened charitable attitude is reflected in the shape of the U-shaped curve. Radley and Kennedy argued that the poor are more likely to require charity, so offer it more freely. In contrast, the wealthy have more negative attitudes towards poverty and are unable to comprehend the importance of philanthropy. The rich often believe that the less fortunate are not deserving and are in their distressed state due to laziness or lack of hard work. In sum, the rich are detached from the lower classes. Radley and Kennedy argued that the wealthier the prospective donor, the smaller the percentage of their earnings given to charitable causes.<sup>108</sup> This thesis builds upon current theories on the correlation between wealth and gift-giving by evaluating whether the Chapter offered more gifts during times of economic prosperity or uncertainty. It aims to determine whether the trends in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's gift-giving practices reflect its own ability to offer gifts or the needs of their recipients to receive. The research explores whether the Chapter offered more gifts during periods of comfortable supply or widespread demand. It aims to determine the effects of the

---

<sup>106</sup> D.R. Hoge & F. Yang, 'Determinants of Religious Giving in American Denominations: Data from Two Nationwide Surveys', *Review of Religious Research*, 36 (1994), pp.123-148.

<sup>107</sup> B. Breeze, 'Widow's Mite or Widow's Might? The Relative Giving of Rich and Poor in the UK', *the 33rd annual conference of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Associations and Voluntary Action*, (Los Angeles, 2004); R. McClland & A.C. Brooks, 'What is the Real Relationship between Income and Charitable Giving?', *Public Finance Review*, 32 (2004), pp.483-517; P. Wiepking, 'Do the Poor Donate More? The Effect of Income on Philanthropic Donations', *the 33rd annual Arnova conference*, (Los Angeles, 2004).

<sup>108</sup> A. Radley & M. Kennedy, 'Charity giving by individuals: A study of attitudes and practice', *Human Relations*, 48.6 (1995), pp.685-709.

wider economic climate on the value of the ceremonial gift and the potential social contracts gift-exchange could create.

Medieval historiography has identified similar connections between economic considerations and gift-giving behaviours. In particular, studies have aimed to determine the role of economic stability on levels of charitable giving. Limits of supply and demand determined philanthropic behaviour. Levels of charity were governed by the ability of the donor to give and the needs of the recipient to receive. Miri Rubin's study on charity and community in medieval Cambridge analysed the influence of economic considerations on gift-giving. She argued that both demand and supply for charity were determined by economic factors. Changes in prosperity and in the distribution of wealth affected the facility with which funds could be allocated to help strangers.<sup>109</sup> Rubin added that economic factors changed the ability to give and the need to receive but did not guarantee charitable disposition nor prescribe the forms in which relief was dispensed – factors largely determined by cultural values.<sup>110</sup> Economic and cultural factors therefore work hand-in-hand to influence levels of prosocial behaviour.

One of the primary ways in which economic considerations influenced the levels of gift-giving is in the relationship between donor and recipient. This is perhaps most apparent in gifts to the poor and the distinct change in attitude towards the unemployed in the late fourteenth century. From 1350, the able-bodied poor were looked upon with contempt and suspicion. Substantial losses in population meant work was readily available but the new-found leverage of the average worker put a significant strain on the economy.<sup>111</sup> Rubin noted that shifts in attitudes towards the poor after the Black Death meant that they were no longer to be helped but hunted down and personally blamed for the losses of the rich.<sup>112</sup> Donors subsequently began to categorise the recipients of their alms into 'deserving' and 'undeserving'.<sup>113</sup> It was no longer deemed a just act to offer donations to those who could find employment. The thesis uses this change in the distinction between deserving and non-deserving poor to evaluate the trends in gift-giving in the fourteenth century. Chapter Five explores any shifts in the levels of charity offered to the poor in the later fourteenth century when attitudes towards poverty changed.

---

<sup>109</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.14.

<sup>110</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.15.

<sup>111</sup> See D. Aers, 'Piers Plowman and Problems in Perception of Poverty: a culture in transition', *Leeds Studies in English*, 14, (1983), pp.5.25; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.239. For changes in poverty levels see Dyer 'Poverty and its Relief', pp.42-78.

<sup>112</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.32.

<sup>113</sup> Aers, 'Piers Plowman', pp.5.25; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.239; Dyer 'Poverty and its Relief', pp.42-78.



## *Conclusion*

To understand the anthropology of gift-giving is to understand a fundamental aspect of human nature. Gifts are a display of emotion, of love, remorse, or sympathy. Gifts can also be a promise of friendship, loyalty, or peace. The ways in which gift-giving is used by individuals and institutions, in both public and private spheres, provide insights into the construction of societies and communities, founded upon continuous and cyclical obligations to give, receive, and reciprocate. Ceremonial gift-exchange has proven to be the enigma of gift-giving because it is driven by neither economic nor moral motivations. The donor of a ceremonial gift is not looking to further their own financial position, as they might in a trade transaction, but neither are they necessarily inspired by morality or compassion. The prospect of a reciprocated gift, and the subsequent formation of alliances, drives ceremonial giving. The examination of existing theories suggest that Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's gifts were public gestures of generosity, designed to cement the institution within both the wider local community and national elite networks. The Chapter's donors similarly sought to establish networks with the Church and with those to whom the Cathedral provided access; namely saints, deceased benefactors, and the poor whose prayers were required to save souls.

A ceremonial gift is defined as an offering primarily motivated to further the social position of the donor. This can be achieved by the creation or confirmation of desirable alliances or the affirmation of a positive prosocial public image through abidance to societal norms and customs. A ceremonial gift requires acknowledgement from the recipient or the donors' peers, which affords the benefactor utility in the form of enhanced social prestige. Ceremonial gifts may appear altruistic but are often only designed to allow the donor to appear as such. Donors frequently present themselves as altruistic, empathetic, and compassionate and use gift-giving as a means of expressing such desirable qualities. However, the donor's prime concern is likely their own image and reputation. If their aim of appearing altruistic whilst elevating their own social position is too apparent, the donor may face criticism and fail to establish alliances through gift-giving. Economic considerations influence the value of the reciprocated gift. It is perhaps not the initial value of the given gift which the donor considers, but whether it is worth obliging their recipient to reciprocate. The value of the anticipated return gift, gesture, or reward drives ceremonial gift-exchange. Ceremonial gifts are neither moral nor economic but are shaped by societal attitudes towards giving and considerations of financial security.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> M. Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.14.

The donor's desire to appear altruistic as a method to embed themselves within certain communities shapes gift-giving behaviour.

The chapter has also highlighted the types of networks established by ceremonial gift-giving, which encompass both the living and the dead. The influence of the doctrine of Purgatory and the related concern for souls in the afterlife ensured that gifts had the power to establish bonds between the deceased benefactors and the living who were offering prayers. The culture of saints and pilgrimage also developed bonds between the living and dead through gift-giving as the laity offered veneration and coin in return for intercession and miracles. Using the framework provided in this chapter, public donations and gifts can be seen to have created a sense of collective identity and cohesion amongst the canons at Lincoln Cathedral. They allowed alliances to form based upon mutually-recognised promises of support and friendship. Gifts also allowed the Chapter to align itself with social norms, to fulfil its position as an intermediary between rich and poor, living and dead, and to develop favourable personal or institutional reputations. Despite any self-serving motivations, the Chapter's gifts remained capable of achieving good by promoting peace, establishing cohesion, and offering charity.

An evaluation of theories on giving highlights that the examples of gifts included within this thesis are ceremonial in character. Pilgrims sought social contracts with saints through which they received divine favour in return for veneration. The rich sought contracts with the poor whereby they left provisions in wills to secure prayers in the hope of reducing purgatorial suffering. Peers sought alliances with each other through a relationship mediated by the exchange of goods, which were symbols of peace. Ceremonial exchange continues to play a significant role in societies with market economies through developing alliances and networks. The ceremonial gift remains an example of Mauss's *Total Social Fact*; engaging the entire society in reciprocal exchange. In one transaction, the donor is both benefactor and beneficiary as they offer material gain to their recipient and simultaneously earn social prestige. The Church played both a direct and indirect role in this ceremonial exchange. It offered aid to the poor, gifts to important figures, and mediated the exchange of gifts between the dead and the living, rich and poor, and pilgrim and saint.

The following chapters use this theoretical analysis as a framework on the function and practice of ceremonial gift-exchange to evaluate the relationship between Lincoln Cathedral Chapter and the outside world. The understanding that the desire to appear altruistic and concerns for economic stability mitigate ceremonial gift-giving is a central theme of succeeding chapters,

which find a definite balance between economic self-preservation and the potential for social or spiritual reward. In conjunction with the preceding chapter on the economic performance of the Cathedral and its diocese, the following chapters evaluate trends in gifts both given by and offered to the Cathedral Chapter. The third and fourth chapters use the understanding of ceremonial gift-exchange to saints to evaluate how social and economic change shaped pilgrimage trends and the popularity of unofficial saints, as featured in the common fund accounts. The final chapter evaluates the importance of gifts given to protect souls of the dead and the high importance placed upon social bonds with the deceased in comparison to the living. All subsequent chapters are founded upon the premise developed throughout this theoretical framework that ceremonial exchange was used by clergy and layman, individual and institution, to establish and develop alliances and could transcend the realms of living and dead.

### Chapter Three: The Pilgrim and Ceremonial Gift-Exchange in the Fourteenth Century

This chapter uses shrine account data from the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter to evaluate the relationship mediated by gift-exchange between pilgrims and saints in the fourteenth century. This new evidence reveals previously unknown patterns in pilgrim numbers. The frequency and regularity with which shrines were opened allows for a more nuanced understanding of both seasonal fluctuations and long-term trends. The analysis determines how levels of pilgrimage changed in the fourteenth century and how the successive socio-economic shocks of famine and plague affected the exchange of gifts between saints and pilgrims in Lincoln. The chapter explores pilgrimage trends, annually over the period 1304 to 1386, and seasonally, throughout the course of each year. It concludes that famine and plague had varying consequences for pilgrim trends in the fourteenth century. There was a marked decrease in the number of pilgrims during episodes of high prices and critical shortages of food but an increase in pilgrimage from the 1350s, which suggests a renewed interest in appealing to saints for intercession. Ceremonial gift-giving did not have a set response to economic shocks, but economic stability affected the perceived value of exchange. Some crises brought a heightened awareness to the social value of giving, whereas others ensured subsistence and survival was a priority.

The increase in pilgrimage after the Black Death draws parallels with John Arnold's conclusion that there was very little mention of Purgatory in wills until the later fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Arnold found that the wording of wills after the Black Death suggests a heightened consciousness of mortality and afterlife. This research corroborates Arnold's conclusion that there was an increase in the awareness of the afterlife in the later fourteenth century with a change in mentality following the Black Death. Despite a significant fall in demographic levels, shrine revenue increased in the decades following the outbreak of plague, namely the 1360s and 1370s. The trends reflect a heightened compulsion to seek miracles, protection, and intercession. After all, during the Black Death, the rich were not saved from death but the pious were saved from eternal damnation. An elevated fear or concern for the afterlife in the years following widespread disease placed more value on the ceremonial gift to saints, which was perceived to establish the favourable relationships and alliances needed for salvation.

---

<sup>1</sup> J.H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), pp.165-166.

Saints, shrines, and pilgrimage have long been understood as defining features of medieval culture and society.<sup>2</sup> From the king to the lowly peasant, veneration of saints spanned the entire social spectrum. Saints were those holy deceased who, as a consequence of leading a just and pious life, were perceived to have earned a place at God's side. Their special relationship with God attracted pilgrims to their tomb and shrines for worship. As a result, shrines soon became spiritually and economically valuable assets to the institutions that claimed them because pilgrimage brought monetary offerings and gifts in kind; usually in the form of wax.<sup>3</sup> Far from an altruistic form of charitable gift-giving, the pilgrims' objective was to inspire the chosen saint to provide intercession on their behalf. Pilgrims donated to shrines to elicit divine intervention through a direct appeal to a saint's influence with God. Pilgrims sought to engage saints in a social contract, in which they hoped the saint would respond to the initial gift through miracles and divine favour. Saints thus served a dual purpose. For the Church, they brought prestige and honour, in addition to providing a potentially lucrative attraction. For the laity, saints offered hope and redemption, with pilgrimage promising an opportunity for adventure.<sup>4</sup>

Much evidence attests to pilgrims seeking various remedies and cures for a range of ailments through veneration, prayer, and calling upon a saint for intercession. Chronicles of saints' lives - their *Magnae Vitae* - document reports from individuals who claimed to have been cured of a mental or physical affliction, or that their family or livelihood was saved from almost certain death or destruction. Authors compiled such chronicles predominantly as part of successful canonisation campaigns and they were therefore often written in a very hyperbolic tone. In his account of Saint Hugh, Adam of Eynsham, for example, aimed to strengthen his deceased companion's claim to sanctity.<sup>5</sup> The number of chronicles pertaining to saintly candidates highlights the volume of saints available to the medieval pilgrim. By the high and late middle ages, there were so many saints available to the medieval pilgrim that they arguably had as much choice as when selecting a physician or treatment.

---

<sup>2</sup> See P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*, (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2011); D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, (London: A&C Black, 2007); D. Weinstein & R.M. Bell, *Saints and Society: the two worlds of western Christendom*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> M. Garcia, 'Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water: The dilemma of deliberate deposition of pilgrim signs', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 1.3 (2003), p.8.

<sup>4</sup> For more on pilgrimage and sanctity see Brown, *The Cult of Saints*; D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*; D. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*.

<sup>5</sup> D.L. Douie and H. Farmer, *Adam of Eynsham's Life of Saint Hugh*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

*Miracula* accounts also provide detailed evidence of pilgrimage. Shrine officials kept these documents in order to record the alleged cures occurring as a result of a saint's intercession. The records often suggest competition between saints. When a miracle was not obtained, the pilgrim was not necessarily deterred from seeking the intercession from another saint elsewhere. Diana Webb argued that failure to obtain a miracle was often understood as the pilgrim selecting the incorrect saint, rather than any failure of intercession or weakness on the part of the saint.<sup>6</sup> The initial purpose of miracle accounts and *Vitae* in proving a candidate's ability to deliver miraculous intercession may seem an alien concept in a modern society, yet they are invaluable to understand how the laity interacted with saints, the longevity and geographical scope of cults, and even the dangers facing those seeking intercession. An analysis of the types of cures sought reveals the types of illnesses or accidents regularly affecting the contemporary populous.<sup>7</sup> Pilgrims appear to have truly believed in the efficacy of intercession and miraculous cures. Chronicles of the lives of Lincoln Cathedral's saints indicate that they were perceived capable of miracles and worthy of veneration. One example of a miracle reported to have been the result of Grosseteste's intercession was the capture of a five-foot sturgeon found in the river Trent in 1255.<sup>8</sup> The alleged powers of Lincoln's saints found within these records demonstrates the need for further analysis of their legacies and influence using quantitative data, such as that found within the common fund. This chapter evaluates the fluctuations in the popular following of Lincoln's saints throughout the fourteenth century through an exploration of the shrine revenue data.

Miracle evidence comes with several warnings. Firstly, the scribes of miracle records could easily exaggerate the seriousness of an illness or disability with the intention of proving the existence of intercession, and afflictions were rarely pre-tested. It is therefore impossible to determine the true extent of the cure allegedly obtained through intercession.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, it suited both the institution and the pilgrim if a miracle was recorded, which increased the risk

---

<sup>6</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in England*, p.41.

<sup>7</sup> Philippa Maddern, for example, has used miracle evidence to determine the dangers facing children in late medieval England. See P. Maddern, 'Rhetorics of Death and Resurrection: Child Death in Late-Medieval English Miracle Tales', in K. Barclay, K. Reynolds, & C. Rawsley, *Death, Emotion and Childhood in Premodern Europe*. (New York: Springer, 2016), pp.45-63.

<sup>8</sup> See Douie & Farmer, *Adam of Eynsham's Life of Saint Hugh*; D.H. Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln*, (Darton: Longman and Todd, 1985); Mathew Paris noted that Grosseteste's death had stirred up the other saints, who performed an increased number of miracles. See *the Burton Annales Monastici vol I*, p.336.

<sup>9</sup> For discussion see R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, (London: J.M. Dent, 1977), p.101; R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); C. Clarke (ed.), *Power, Identity and Miracles on a Medieval Frontier*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

of exaggeration and fabrication. The religious institution gained prestige and validation through housing the remains of a true saint. The pilgrim received individual recognition and a sense of satisfaction that they were singled out as a recipient of divine intervention. Furthermore, accounts of miracles only include extraordinary cases, which gained acknowledgment and recognition of divine intervention. The total number of miracle-seeking pilgrims who were unable to prove or benefit from miraculous intervention therefore remains unknown. Adam of Eynsham noted Hugh of Avalon's miraculous actions when, shortly after his death, he blinded a thief trying to escape with a woman's purse. Once the purse was returned to its rightful owner, the thief regained his sight.<sup>10</sup> The woman at the centre of Saint Hugh's miracle represents only one case out of countless others whose attempts failed to elicit divine intervention, or at least failed to convince others of a miraculous remedy. Those pilgrims who were unsuccessful in pursuit of a miracle, in addition to those undertaking pilgrimage for penance or as an act of piety, therefore remain invisible within the existing records. Miracles provide in-depth and anecdotal evidence where the pilgrim is the focus, but ignore most shrine visitors, whose pilgrimage experience was more typical and unremarkable.

Reliance solely upon miracle data inevitably ignores many pilgrim voices. Although saints were believed to provide a route for intercession with God, it by no means defined the parameters of their existence. Pilgrimage did not always result in miraculous cures, and nor was it meant to. Many visitors to a shrine were healthy pilgrims, driven by a need to express piety and penitence, or by a tourist's curiosity.<sup>11</sup> The main method to discover their presence at a religious institution is through an analysis of Sacrist, Treasurer, and Feretrar accounts, which record the volume of coin left at a shrine. This data enables an estimation of the total number of pilgrims venerating a saint and, where it is continuous, allows for the identification of long-term trends in pilgrimage. There are a few reasons for caution when using shrine accounts. Shrine collections represent the opposite end of the scale to miracle evidence because in shrine accounts, the individual is consumed into the mass and an unknown number of pilgrims also offered wax or other gifts in kind. It is currently unknown whether the values of such gifts were included within the account totals or whether the records only account for the actual coin donated and collected. However, the data remain invaluable for identifying trends

---

<sup>10</sup> Douie & Farmer, *Adam of Eynsham's Life of Saint Hugh*, p.231.

<sup>11</sup> D.R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage and Narratives and their Posterity*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1980), p.14.

in pilgrimage, both over time and between different institutions. They allow for a comparison of saints' popularity and analysis of the longevity of cults.

The current study explores pilgrimage trends in England during the fourteenth century. The trends in the number of pilgrims venerating saints at Lincoln Cathedral facilitates an understanding of the value of the ceremonial gift during periods of substantial socio-economic upheavals in the fourteenth century. The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter, which include detailed annual shrine account data, largely support the model designed by Ben Nilson. The model dictates that shrine revenue, and therefore pilgrimage trends, remained stagnant in the early fourteenth century before suddenly increasing in the second half of the century.<sup>12</sup> A reduction in the number of pilgrims during famine years in the 1310s and 1320s suggests that the laity were deterred from pilgrimage when food shortages ensured subsistence was a priority. In contrast, the significant increase in donations after the Black Death suggests that the epidemic raised the value of gifts. Unlike famine, during which those with surplus revenue could continue to purchase food, the Black Death targeted its victims indiscriminately. The undiscerning nature of plague increased the value of the pilgrim's donation. The rich could not escape death, but the pious could escape prolonged suffering in Purgatory. Similar to the theories explored in Chapter Two concerning the relationship between economics and charity in modern society, the shrine data suggest that some economic shocks prevented pilgrimage as the laity sought to protect their own interests. Conversely, other economic shocks caused such significant social upheaval that they elicited increased gift-giving.

#### *A Model of Late-Medieval Pilgrimage*

Nilson's study on relic and saint culture in medieval England was the first to devise a model to reflect pilgrim trends throughout the high and late middle ages from Thomas Becket in the twelfth century to the eve of the Reformation.<sup>13</sup> His study found that shrine revenue was significant but not fundamental to institutional finances through a close analysis of multiple shrines in England. Nilson argued that the revenue generated was substantial, but not enough for an institution to become dependent upon it to remain financially stable.<sup>14</sup> The shrines of Norwich and Ely Priors, for example, were responsible for approximately 10 per cent of the institutions' total income.<sup>15</sup> Nilson acknowledges an inescapable flaw of this research in the

---

<sup>12</sup> B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp.168-172.

<sup>13</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.182-183.

<sup>14</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.182-183.

<sup>15</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.182.



nature of his evidence. For much of this period, he can only rely on evidence from a single shrine at any given time.<sup>16</sup> This means that patterns emerging in the shrine accounts of Thomas Becket are followed by evidence from the Ely sacrist rolls in the early fourteenth century. The evidence may only reveal trends in the popularity of each individual shrine, and therefore not shed light on wider pilgrimage culture. Furthermore, the shrines of Thomas Becket of Canterbury enjoyed an international reputation and thus welcomed pilgrims from mainland Europe. It remains problematic to assume smaller shrines followed the same trends. Nevertheless, the study provides a framework to act as a bench mark for subsequent research.

Nilson's research initially relied upon the shrine accounts of Thomas Becket of Canterbury in the thirteenth century and found that the 1220 translations caused an enormous peak in the data, which cannot be applied to pilgrim trends elsewhere. From the 1260s, Nilson identified a linear trend of a 3.1 per cent increase in shrine revenue a year until the 1320s which was followed by a period of stagnation.<sup>17</sup> Nilson found similar results in an analysis of the Ely sacrist rolls. Offerings remained level in the early decades of fourteenth century, increasing by only 1 per cent a year. The Norwich data is sparse but still suggests slow growth in pilgrimage in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, the shrine accounts all testify a significant increase in the level of pilgrimage to major shrines in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was especially noticeable at the shrine of Saint William at Norwich, which saw a rise of 36 per cent between 1364 and 1386. The shrine accounts of Saint Hugh at Lincoln, which were not included in the common fund, saw a sharp incline from 1350 to 1370. Nilson's evidence then points towards a gradual and consistent decline from the turn of the fifteenth century until the Reformation.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Nilson's conjectural model runs as follows: gradual increase from the mid-thirteenth century until 1320; stagnation until the mid-fourteenth century; a sudden burst from 1350 to 1400; decline from 1400 until the Reformation.<sup>20</sup> The methodological problems of using multiple shrines to estimate national pilgrim trends are somewhat dissipated by similarities in the existing and available data. Where there is overlap, all shrines follow a similar pattern. It

---

<sup>16</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.145-147.

<sup>17</sup> See 'The Ely Sacrist Rolls: offerings at Ely' in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.216-218; 'The Norwich Sacrist Rolls: oblations to St William, the High Altar and elsewhere', in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.218-221.

<sup>18</sup> See 'The Ely Sacrist Rolls: offerings at Ely' in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.216-218; 'The Norwich Sacrist Rolls: oblations to St William, the High Altar and elsewhere', in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.218-221.

<sup>19</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.168-172.

<sup>20</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.168-172.

seems unlikely that this could be a mere coincidence. Despite their varying levels of popularity, all shrines saw comparable changes of growth and decline.

Initially, Nilson sought to analyse shrine revenue alongside trends in deflation and inflation. The Phelps-Brown and Hopkins index, which tracks inflation through trends in wages and prices, stipulates that there was light inflation until the 1320s, then slow deflation until 1340. England then saw inflation again until the 1370s and deflation until 1500.<sup>21</sup> Nilson concluded that the evidence of pilgrim trends and inflation suggests no overall correlation. Major shifts did often coincide, but not always in the same direction and rarely to the same degree.<sup>22</sup> Using Hatcher's estimates of population change, Nilson instead found a stronger correlation between shrine revenue and demography.<sup>23</sup> Long-term trends suggest that there was a significant link between population levels and offerings to shrines, which is perhaps logical. If the pilgrimage-going proportion of the population remains constant, the number of pilgrims would increase alongside the overall demographic level. Nilson's model of slow growth in the level of pilgrimage in the thirteenth century and stagnation in the mid-fourteenth century corresponds to episodes of similar stagnant trends in population. However, evidence from the later fourteenth century undermines this argument. After the Black Death, the population struggled to return to former levels due to recurrent epidemics. Simultaneously, shrine revenues were at their highest level. At the turn of the fifteenth century, the pre-Black Death correlation between shrine donations and population was resumed.<sup>24</sup> The few decades after the Black Death thus represent an important and significant anomaly.

Nilson's results encouraged him to downplay the effects of famine on determining the levels of pilgrimage in the early fourteenth century. Instead, he argued that only the Black Death governed spending patterns and shrine revenue. Nilson argued that a change in the mood in the fourteenth century caused the aftermath of the Black Death to defy expected trends in pilgrimage. A new mentality of 'spend now for we might not be here tomorrow' took hold amongst the laity.<sup>25</sup> Considering the substantial loss of life in the mid-fourteenth century, the increase in shrine donations in the aftermath of the Black Death implies that either pilgrims

---

<sup>21</sup> E.H.P. Brown & S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries on the Prices of Consumable, Compared with Builders' Wage Rates', *Economica*, 23 (1956), pp.311-313.

<sup>22</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.174.

<sup>23</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.175, J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English economy 1348-1530*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1977), p.25.

<sup>24</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.170.

<sup>25</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.177.

increased substantially their individual donations or that the proportion of the population undertaking pilgrimage increased significantly.

### *Using the Aperturae Records*

This study uses the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter to test the validity of Nilson's model. It evaluates whether a comparative study of long-term national pilgrimage trends in the Middle Ages is a realistic goal or whether regional variation and the popularity of individual saints governs to large a role and distorts wider patterns. The section of the common fund accounts pertaining to the collection of Lincoln's shrines is located under the subheading *aperturae*. The shrines, pertaining to Robert Grosseteste, Little Saint Hugh and Bishop Remigius, all had their own individual collection boxes which were regularly emptied and counted. These three saints lacked official legitimization from the pope, which is explored further in Chapter Four, but the high volumes of coin left at their shrines suggests that they still remained popular amongst Lincoln's pilgrims throughout the fourteenth century. Remigius (d.1092) was Lincoln's first bishop and responsible for moving the centre of the diocese to Lincoln from Dorchester in 1072.<sup>26</sup> Little Saint Hugh (d.1255) was allegedly tortured and murdered by Jews and therefore represents Lincoln Cathedral's only martyred saint.<sup>27</sup> Robert Grosseteste (d.1253), a devout bishop in the thirteenth century, was renowned for his fastidious approach to administrative tasks and for his devotion towards his responsibility for the care of souls in his diocese.<sup>28</sup>

The language within this section is highly formulaic and reads almost identically every year throughout the 1304-1386 period. Only the values recorded at each opening changed annually. Unlike the existing shrine accounts for Saint Hugh, which were collected biannually, the shrine boxes included within the common fund were opened eight times per year.<sup>29</sup> The accounts were recorded annually on the feasts of Saint Denis (October 9<sup>th</sup>), Saint Lucy (December 13<sup>th</sup>), the Annunciation of the Lady (March 25<sup>th</sup>), Pentecost (May/June), Saint John the Baptist (June 24<sup>th</sup>), and the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15<sup>th</sup>). The final opening (only referred to as

---

<sup>26</sup> See D. Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067-1092*, (Lincoln: The Honywood Press, 1992).

<sup>27</sup> D.A. Stocker, 'The Shrine of Little Saint Hugh', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral VIII, The British Archaeological Association*, (1982), pp.109-117.

<sup>28</sup> See J. Cunningham (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste: his thought and impact*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012), J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, (Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Publications, 2003), R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: the growth of an English mind in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>29</sup> See Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.222-226.

the *aperturae ultima*) was likely to have occurred shortly before Michaelmas (September 29<sup>th</sup>), when the accounts were compiled. Occasionally, officials made additional openings. For example, in November 1308, the clerk recorded an extra opening on the feast of Saint Leonard.<sup>30</sup> The accounts do not explain why this additional collection was made, but it is possible that the Chapter required immediate access to funds. Opening the accounts early provided an easy means of obtaining cash quickly. In addition to shrine collections, the data also include revenue collected at the altars of Saint Thomas and Saint Hugh, which annually equated to an average of 3s. over the period.

It is likely that the offerings to Lincoln's saints were counted immediately at the opening, which ensures that the accounts accurately reflect the actual donations. Analysis of pilgrimage trends to Lincoln Cathedral's shrines can thus draw from detailed and accurate shrine collections, in which the totals of each opening were recorded in pounds, shillings, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. The presence of halfpennies and farthings suggests that the clerk recorded the donations accurately. If smaller denominator coins were not included, it would imply that officials had rounded up the totals. If there was more consistency in the values recorded, then it may suggest that calculations were estimates. For example, the fourteenth-century totals recorded at the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket in Canterbury were consistently whole numbers rounded to the nearest £10.<sup>31</sup> It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the shrine earned such a round number on a consistent basis, which implies that the records are not a perfectly accurate reflection of the true volume of donated coin. The inclusion of low value coin in Lincoln's shrine accounts indicates a drive for precision because values were not estimates or rounded-up. This hypothesis is supported by the recurrent notes and annotations made in the margins. Such markings, which appear to be written in a second hand, indicate that the accounts were subject to a check or an audit. Although the auditor was likely checking the calculations of subheadings, rather than the actual recorded coin, the annotated margins further imply a drive for accuracy and precision. Audits were a regular feature of similar accounts elsewhere and highlight how observation to ensure accuracy and accountability established a hierarchy of power.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Bi/2/4 f.44v.

<sup>31</sup> See 'Treasurers accounts of Thomas Becket' in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.214.

<sup>32</sup> See A. Dobie 'An Analysis of the Bursar's Accounts at Durham Cathedral Priory, 1278-1398', *The Accounting Historian's Journal*, 35 (2008), p.200 for Durham Cathedral Priory's audit process. A forthcoming article, which was accepted for publication pending revisions in the *Accounting History Review*, addresses the influence of audits and accounting practices at Lincoln in more depth.

Until 1320, the accounts also provide some insight into the expense involved in maintaining shrines. After this date, all shrine expenditure was removed from the common fund and instead recorded within the aperture accounts of Saint Hugh's shrine, which was collected separately.<sup>33</sup> Frequently, the cost of wax and wine is itemised at 30s. *per annum*. The precision in counting donations suggests that the regular sum of 30s. spent each year was not an estimate but was the total amount the Chapter was prepared to spend. Each year, canons bought the volumes and quantities of wax and wine that 30s. allowed. The running costs of providing pilgrims with wine and furnishing shrines with wax was paid for directly from shrine accounts. Expenditure on shrine maintenance was included under the *aperture* subheading and appeared as part of the income section of the common fund accounts.

The occurrence of shrine deductions within the accounts' revenue section suggests that a sacrist was responsible for such expenditure and that outgoings were deducted before shrine totals reached the common fund. Deductions were always made exclusively on the openings at Pentecost and the feast of Saint John. The fact that both these aperture dates occur in the summer could suggest that the warmer months attracted more pilgrims. Perhaps higher pilgrim numbers increased the demand for wax to furnish shrines, and for wine to offer to travellers. It is more probable, though, that there were other factors at play. After all, it could be argued that an increased number of pilgrims reduced the necessary expenditure on wax, as it was regularly offered instead of coin.<sup>34</sup> As results will later demonstrate, Pentecost was a very profitable time of year for pilgrim donations, and this may have presented the most opportune moment to enrich the shrines and fulfil hospitality obligations. The latter of these two openings, on the feast of Saint John, occurred during the Lincoln Fair.<sup>35</sup> It is plausible that the deductions coincide with the Lincoln fair because it is where the Chapter bought its produce.

After the last opening towards the end of the financial year, the Chapter also noted yearly payments of half a mark (6s. 8d.) to provide cloth to local paupers. This act of charity was paid for directly from donations left at the shrines. The Chapter only noted these transactions until 1319 and subsequently refrained from making such expenditure a year before an ordinance in 1320 complained of the dampening of men's piety. The timing of the ordinance suggests that

---

<sup>33</sup> The following chapter addresses which saints were included in the common fund.

<sup>34</sup> Garcia, 'Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water', p.8.

<sup>35</sup> The Feast of Saint John the Baptist occurs on 24<sup>th</sup> June. Dates of the Lincoln Fair are found on Gazetteer of markets and fairs. <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> accessed 4/9/2017.

charity funded directly by the shrines ceased when profits began to decline.<sup>36</sup> Analysis of the accounting procedure indicates the priorities of the Chapter when collecting and distributing the revenue generated at shrines. When the Cathedral Chapter feared, or recognised, a decline in shrine income, they compensated for loss by reducing the expenditure to those outside of the Cathedral walls. This helped to protect the surplus profit generated by the shrines, which was distributed amongst the Cathedral's personnel.<sup>37</sup> When necessary, the Chapter reduced expenditure to maintain higher surplus.

The regular collections and the Chapter's drive for accuracy enables a more nuanced understanding of pilgrimage and gift-giving trends in the fourteenth century. Trends identified from the common fund data can test the validity of Nilson's hypotheses on the importance of shrines as a source of revenue. The Lincoln accounts can add to the discussion on shrines and their analysis can ascertain the proportion of income generated through pilgrimage in comparison to other sources of revenue at the Chapter's disposal, such as tithes, rent, and demesne farming. This allows for a deeper understanding of the dependence of Lincoln Cathedral on pilgrims' gifts and demonstrates that ceremonial gift-exchange, in the form of donations to the Cathedral's saints, was a significant and lucrative source of revenue. The following analysis uses the new evidence from the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter to test Nilson's theory on the economic importance of shrine donations and his model of pilgrim trends, which facilitates an understanding of the impact of socio-economic change on pilgrimage in the fourteenth century.

### *Pilgrimage in Fourteenth-Century Lincoln*

The common fund accounts confirm that Lincoln's saints secured the Cathedral Chapter an average of over £143 a year, which equated to approximately 15 per cent of the revenue generated between the years 1304-1386. When the shrines of Saint Hugh are included, which earned an average of £30 a year in the fourteenth century, the proportion of the Chapter's revenue generated by all pilgrimage increased to 18 per cent. Proceeds from Saint Hugh's shrines were also distributed amongst the resident canons alongside surplus from the common fund. The proportion of revenue from shrines at Lincoln is almost double that generated at Norwich and Ely Priories, which Nilson included in his analysis. To put shrine income at

---

<sup>36</sup> *Liber Niger*, in H. Bradshaw, & C. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1892), p.336.

<sup>37</sup> Charity offered by the Cathedral Chapter will be studied in more depth in Chapter Five.

Lincoln into context, the largest proportion of the Chapter's revenue came from the section entitled *firme*, which were payments due from demesne estates and tithes in the diocese. These payments provided the Chapter with an average of approximately £639 each year between 1304 and 1386, which equated to almost 58 per cent of their overall income. Shrines generated less than 30 per cent of the revenue generated by farming and tithes.

Although there was a substantial difference in the volume of shrine revenue and that generated by tithes and farming, pilgrim donations were the second most lucrative form of the Chapter's revenue and therefore highly important to the functioning of the institution. Shrine donations accounted for almost a quarter of the accounts' surplus each year. Shrine income was not necessary to finance outgoings, but it was a much-needed financial resource to maintain a substantial profit to distribute amongst the resident canons. Shrine revenue was the difference between a lucrative and an unfavourable financial year. The Cathedral Chapter was not directly dependent on the revenue for the daily running of the institution, but the shrines ensured that resident canons earned a substantial living from their residency. Without the division of shrine offerings amongst canons, residency would not have been financially lucrative, and potentially a much less attractive prospect for canons.

Due to Nilson's extensive research, which made several other shrine accounts available for comparison, it is possible to evaluate the levels of revenue that Lincoln's saints generated alongside the shrines of Saint Thomas of Becket and Saint William of Norwich. The most frequented shrine at Canterbury pertained to Thomas Becket, who enjoyed a great international reputation. Becket's international reputation meant that he had the potential to attract pilgrims from all over Europe. He was celebrated as the defender of the Church and his image was repeatedly evoked to support both religious and secular causes, centuries after his martyrdom.<sup>38</sup> Becket's shrine received an average of £337 a year between 1304 and 1339, substantially more than the average of £173 generated from all Lincoln's saints combined.<sup>39</sup> Over the same period, the five altars and shrines at Norwich Cathedral for which evidence exists, earned an

---

<sup>38</sup> Simon de Montfort, for example, was compared to Becket during his rebellion against the crown in 1263. See C. Valente, 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the utility of sanctity in thirteenth-century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21.1 (1995), pp.27-49. See also N. Vincent, 'Thomas Becket', in G. Atkins, *Making and Remaking Saints in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.92-112 for Becket's revival in the nineteenth century.

<sup>39</sup> See Table Two, 'St Thomas Becket; oblations to the four stations connected with the cult of Thomas of Canterbury', in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.211-215.

average of £58.<sup>40</sup> The level of offerings at the shrines of Lincoln's saints is substantially higher than the revenue generated at the shrines in Norwich. Lincoln's saints could not rival those with an international reputation but had a significant national presence.

A comparison of the trends in revenue from both the common fund shrines and the shrine of Saint Hugh allows the new Lincoln evidence to test Nilson's model on fourteenth-century pilgrim trends. A comparative analysis of trends to all Lincoln shrines can determine whether increases in the level of donations at the shrine of Saint Hugh were accompanied by an increase in the level of veneration at other shrines in the Cathedral, whose accounts appear in the common fund. Similar peaks and troughs over a long period of time amongst all of Lincoln's saints would suggest that the data could be compiled to reduce gaps in the evidence and to estimate total pilgrim trends in Lincoln. On the other hand, any substantial discrepancies would indicate that the shrines of Saint Hugh and those within the common fund were independent and separate institutions and that the popularity of an individual saint had greater influence on trends than any national or regional trends.

The data within the common fund and the shrines of Saint Hugh do not overlap for any substantial period of time until the 1360s. Figure One demonstrates that the shrine accounts of Saint Hugh and those within the common fund followed very similar patterns. A rise in the level of offerings at the shrines of Saint Hugh was paralleled by an increase in the common fund. For example, both sets of data rise in 1360 and then subsequently fall. A slight increase in 1363 is then followed by stagnant years for the remainder of the decade. The sample used is reasonably small, but the similarities are clear. The shrine accounts in the common fund in the earlier fourteenth century can therefore be used in conjunction with Saint Hugh's aperture accounts analysed by Nilson because it can be assumed that when one account saw an increase, it is likely that the other did too. Both accounts rise and fall simultaneously, which implies that the two sets of evidences can be used together to evaluate long-term trends in pilgrimage. The new evidence within the common fund can therefore develop current understanding of fourteenth century pilgrimage trends in Lincoln.

To test the validity of Nilson's model on the shrine accounts at Lincoln, this research divides the common fund into three distinct periods. The first period of 1304-1322 coincides with Nilson's argument that the early fourteenth century was marked by a gradual increase in shrine

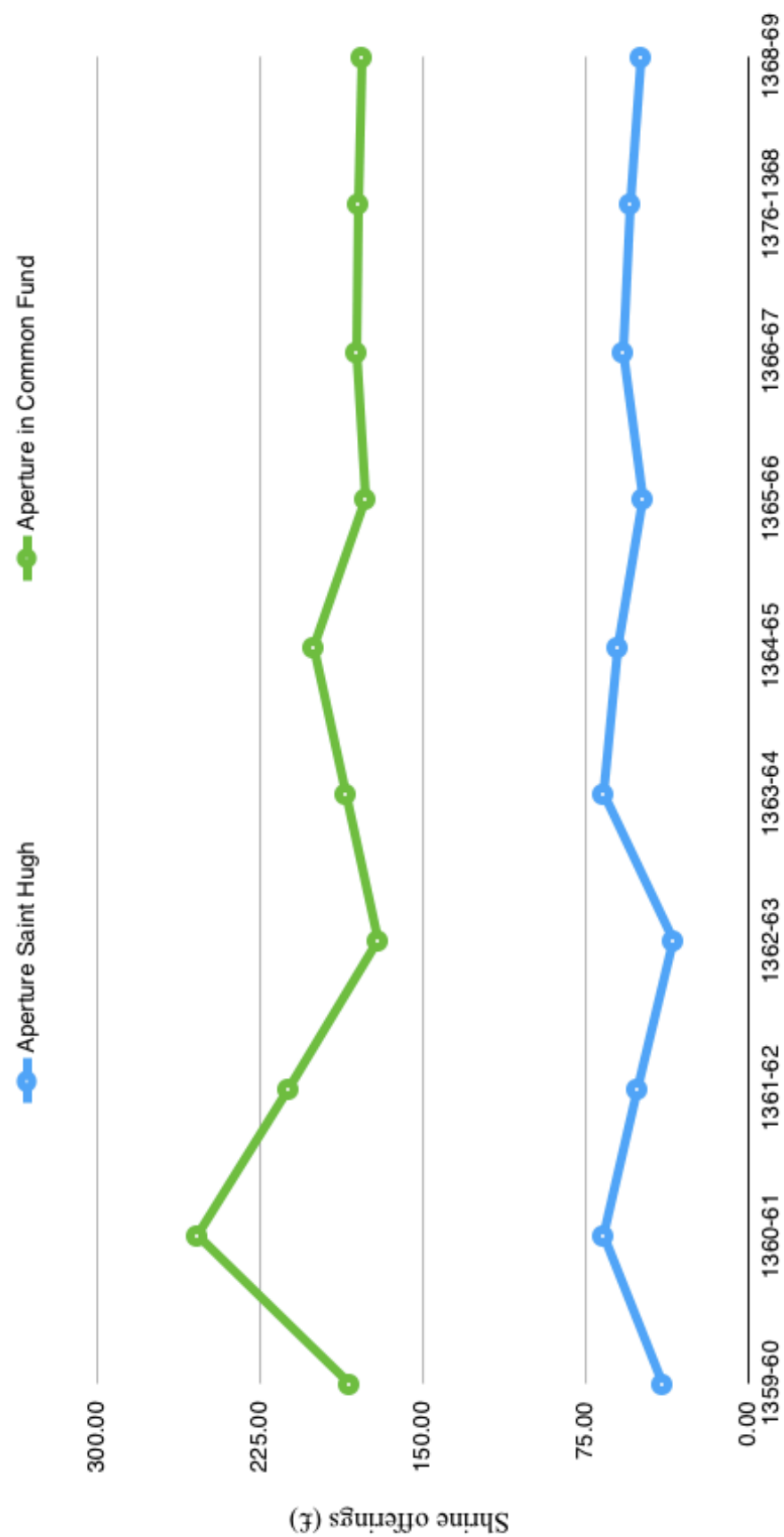
---

<sup>40</sup> See Table Five, 'The Norwich Sacrists' Rolls; oblations to St William, the High Altar and elsewhere', in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.218-221.



donations. The second pertains to 1323-1344, which Nilson suggests saw stagnated levels of revenue. The final period runs from 1358-1389, which Nilson argues brought considerable increases in revenue. The shrine accounts of Lincoln Cathedral largely corroborate Nilson's theories on national pilgrim trends. Stagnation marked the first half century and a burst of activity followed the Black Death. There are, however, a few significant differences between Nilson's model and observable pilgrim trends in Lincoln. The Lincoln shrine accounts testify to substantially poorer returns in the second decade of the century and revenue at shrines began to deplete before the 1400s. The differences therefore suggest that regional factors should be accredited with having a significant impact on pilgrim behaviour and practices.

Figure One: The Shrines of Saint Hugh and the Common Fund Account, 1359-1369



Nilson uses the shrine accounts of Saint Hugh of Lincoln but neglected the aperture evidence within the common fund. Saint Hugh's records only begin in the 1330s and therefore shrine data over the opening decades of the century is not included in his analysis. Nilson estimated that Lincoln's saints saw low levels of donations in the early fourteenth century due to a proclamation found in the *Liber Niger*, which contains numerous Cathedral statutes. In 1321, one statute proclaimed that the chilling of man's devotion was the root cause of a decline in offerings.<sup>41</sup> The shrine data made available from the common fund can test Nilson's prediction. Figure Two demonstrates that there was a decrease of 35.4 per cent in the number of pilgrims venerating Lincoln's saints during the first two decades of the fourteenth century. It cannot be proven whether a decline in shrine offerings was the result of a 'dampening of man's piety' but the officials' concern in 1321 that the revenue of shrine accounts was depleting was seemingly justified. Nilson's assumption that the *Liber Niger* statute indicates a fall in shrine donations towards the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century is similarly valid. The Chapter was clearly acutely aware of a downward trend and was concerned that it would continue.

One explanation for this downward trend in shrine revenue is that the early decades of the fourteenth century were punctuated with a number of extraordinarily poor years. Four out of the seven years preceding the ordinance of 1321 received markedly low offerings. These years averaged a total of £83 19s 19d; a significant drop of over £50 compared to more profitable years in the early fourteenth century. Removing these exceptionally poor years from the calculations reduces the overall decline to 17 per cent in the first two decades, which was still significant but represents a substantially smaller reduction in donations. The years of exceptionally poor returns at the Lincoln shrines coincide with the worst years of food-shortages and high prices. 1315, 1316, 1318, and 1321 all saw significantly fewer donations. The shrine accounts corroborate the findings of Chapter Two, which suggest that the famine was a short-term setback, from which normality soon resumed. Famine brought isolated years of hardship, which is reflected in a few years of limited donations to saints. Episodes of poor harvests and famine had a short-term negative effect on the offerings at shrines and arguably augmented the Chapter's concern for the chilling of devotions. The accounts suggest that shrines could recover relatively quickly and were only temporarily financially affected by poor

---

<sup>41</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.96.

harvests. 1323, for example, was a particularly profitable year for Lincoln's Chapter with the shrines accruing a total of £146 14s.

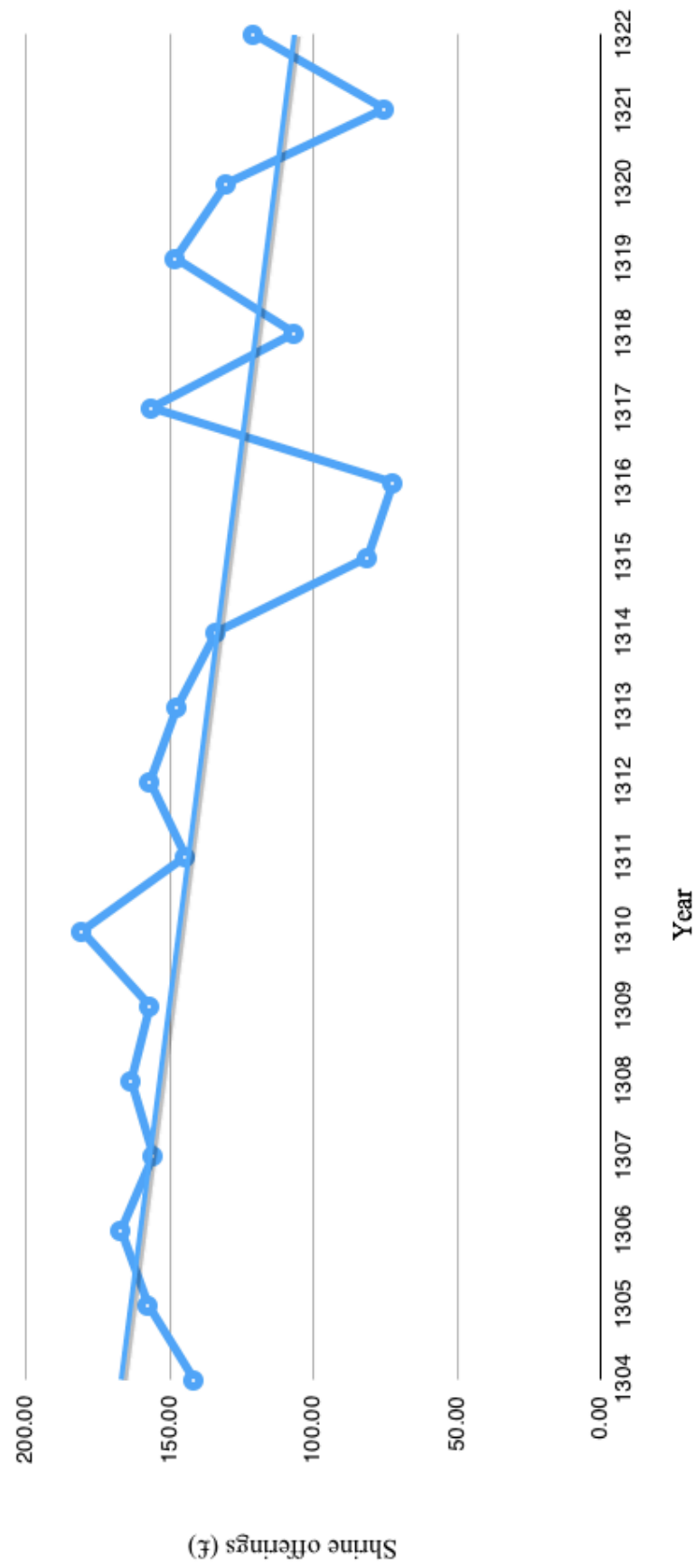
Similar results appear in the treasurer's accounts at Canterbury; the only surviving comparable evidence in this period. The income generated at all four shrines connected with Thomas Becket saw a sudden decrease in the years 1315-1317. In 1314-15, the shrine received £360, the Corona raised £45, the Martyrdom £10 and £9 was collected at the Tomb. In comparison, in 1315-16 the values dropped to £200 at the shrine, £15 at the Corona, £1 at the Martyrdom and £3 at the Tomb. Again, the revenues recovered quickly and for the year 1317-18 the accounts record a combined sum of over £500 from all collection sites.<sup>42</sup> The fact that a shrine pertaining to a saint boasting an international reputation suffered similarly in the years marked by famine indicates that pilgrims were temporarily deterred from pilgrimage on a national scale when food was scarce and prices high. An immediate reaction to famine was to refrain from undertaking a pilgrimage.

The famine years produced exceptionally low revenues at shrines and occurred during a period of long-term decline. Famine should not be viewed as an isolated event but the culmination of several years of agrarian and economic uncertainty. As explored in the opening chapter, this was a period of high population, which should have been conducive to high, stable levels of pilgrimage if demographic factors were the sole determinant of pilgrim trends. Nilson's model, which supports a slight increase in the levels of donations to saints in the early fourteenth century does not accurately reflect pilgrim behaviour between 1304 and 1320 in Lincoln where there was a marked decline in pilgrimage from 1310. The overall decline in pilgrimage during these years indicates that the pilgrim-going proportion of the population was decreasing, perhaps as a consequence of high prices and low wages. Pilgrimage and offering monetary donations to saints was reduced when there was less *per capita* wealth.

---

<sup>42</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.214.

Figure Two: Total offerings found in common fund, 1304-1322



The sudden drop in shrine offerings during the years most severely affected by food shortages and high prices suggests that gifts to saints declined in value when self-preservation took precedence. The laity felt less compelled to try to engage saints in an alliance through gift-exchange when their survival was at stake. Economic self-interest was a priority in years when only the most affluent could withstand economic shocks. The need to limit unnecessary expenditure was a priority in these years and outweighed the need to appeal for divine favour. Perhaps the mood of the early fourteenth century was to save. Those with reserves of coin could withstand famine years, which indicates that pilgrimage and the demand for intercession was limited by economic considerations. The value of an alliance with a saint was thus reduced. The decline in offerings suggests that a high proportion of the laity did not appeal to the saints for better harvests and instead chose to reserve funds for sustenance. In years with excessive prices, the social value of the ceremonial gift declined.

The period between the famine of the 1310s and the Black Death in Lincoln better corroborates Nilson's findings of stagnation at shrine accounts. As shown in Figure Three, there was a slight increase in the number of pilgrims venerating Lincoln's saints, but it did not reach the levels of donations seen in the opening years of the fourteenth century. The first decade of the century saw an average of £160 offered to the saints at Lincoln. Comparatively, this fell to just over £130 between 1323 and 1345. However, shrine revenue was showing signs of slow recovery after the decline of the 1310s. The perceived value of engaging a saint in a reciprocal relationship through veneration and donations slightly increased in the intermittent years between famine and plague.

The Black Death had a significant impact on pilgrim trends. Figure Four shows that in the years following the Plague, the number of pilgrims visiting Lincoln Cathedral suddenly increased. There are clear parallels here with Nilson's study on shrine accounts in the years after the Black Death, which suggests that pilgrimage became more popular on a national scale in the aftermath of sudden and substantial population decline. At Lincoln, shrine revenue increased by 40 per cent after the Plague. Overall, the common fund accounts saw an increase of 9 per cent in surplus revenue, which equated to an average of £100 extra profit each year. Over half of this additional surplus was the consequence of increased pilgrimage and donations in the wake of plague. In comparison to the early fourteenth century, the Black Death created a climate in which shrines became more lucrative and valuable assets. Such a conclusion is

perhaps surprising considering that some estimates of population decline reach 50 per cent.<sup>43</sup> The peak in pilgrimage and gift-giving to saints in the period 1304–1386 occurred during the post-plague decades of low population and a heightened awareness of mortality. Either pilgrims were offering more to the saints per visit, or the pilgrimage-going proportion of the population substantially increased in the second half of the century. Either way, the laity clearly placed increased value on relationships with saints after such a significant epidemic.

The shrine accounts at Lincoln contradict Nilson's findings concerning the turning-point in the level of shrine donations and suggest that the high levels of donations in the decades following the Black Death could not be sustained until the turn of the fifteenth century. Nilson argues that donations remained high until 1400. However, shrine revenue in the common fund accounts decreased from the late 1370s. As shown in Figure Four, by 1386, when the common fund account evidence ceases, shrine revenue had returned to pre-plague levels. The influx of pilgrims visiting Lincoln's saints could not be sustained throughout the entire second half of the century. As the horrors of the Plague itself fell out of collective memory and subsequent epidemics halted demographic recovery, shrine revenue soon began to decline.

---

<sup>43</sup> For example, see J.C. Russell, *British medieval population*, (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press 1948). Russell estimates population loss as a consequence of plague could have reached 50 percent in 1349.

Figure Three: Shrine Donations 1323-1345

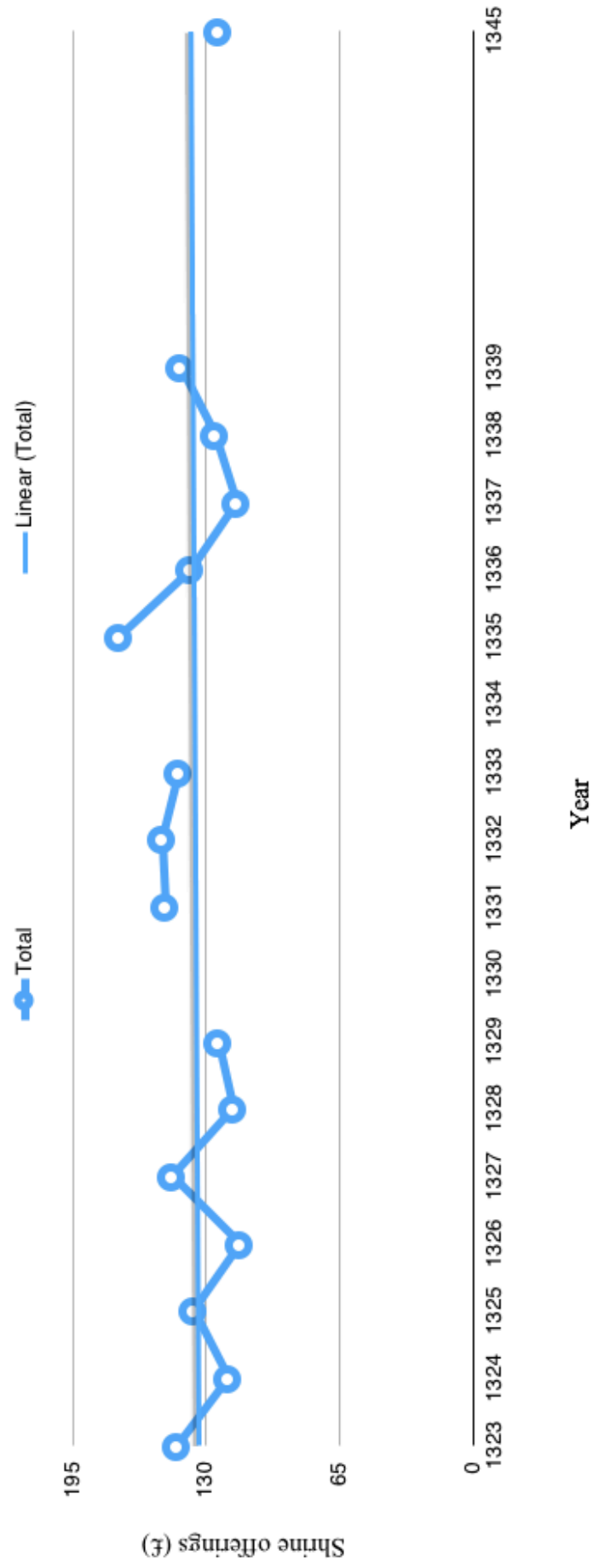
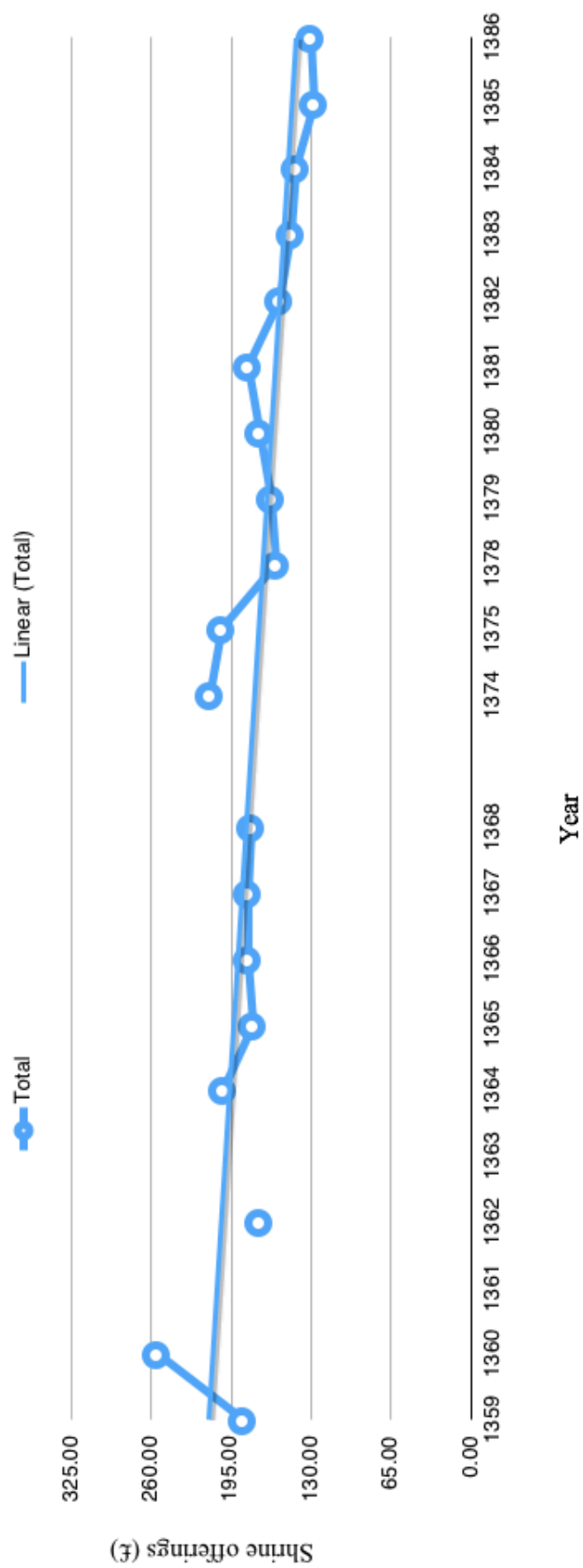




Figure Four: Shrine Donations 1359-1386



The Lincoln shrine evidence does largely corroborate Nilson's model and suggests that there was stagnation in the level of pilgrimage during the first half of the fourteenth century before significant increases after the Black Death. However, there are pertinent differences between Lincoln's shrine revenue and Nilson's model. It is possible that these differences merely reflect regional variation. Donations to saints only increased until 1310, after which date the shrines saw markedly fewer donations. Perhaps Lincoln was more severely affected by famine and high prices. In addition, high levels of pilgrimage in the aftermath of plague could not be sustained until 1400 and veneration began to decline from the 1380s. Perhaps Lincoln's population could not recover at a similar rate to towns elsewhere. However, as demonstrated in the first chapter, Lincoln remained economically buoyant in the years after plague and farming in Lincolnshire continued to bring lucrative returns during the famine. These differences indicate that it was not simply regional variation that ensure Nilson's model does not conform to the Lincoln shrine evidence, but arguably contradict the link between pilgrimage and population.

It is possible, then, that pilgrimage was more intrinsically linked to *per capita* wealth and the perceived social and cultural value of pilgrimage than raw demographic figures. Such a link explains the sudden decrease in offerings in the second decade and the increase in pilgrimage after the Black Death. When a greater proportion of the medieval laity enjoyed increased individual wealth, more pilgrims flocked to Lincoln Cathedral. It was neither demographic levels nor inflationary patterns that influenced pilgrim trends, but the relationship between the two. High population, high prices and low wages, which occurred in the 1310s, restricted *per capita* wealth and prevented pilgrimage. Before 1310 and between famine and plague, high population and reduced inflationary pressures, which would ensure slightly more increased *per capita* wealth, caused gradual increases in pilgrimage. From 1350, low demographic levels and low prices and high wages ensured more members of the laity had the surplus funds available to donate to saints and dedicate to the welfare of their souls. A link between *per capita* wealth and pilgrimage suggests that it should not be assumed that the pilgrim-going proportion of the population remained static. Some socio-economic conditions encouraged a higher proportion of the laity to embark on a religious journey and others reduced the ability of pilgrims to donate coin.

In addition to increased *per capita* wealth, the Black Death brought social change, which influenced pilgrim behaviours in the second half of the century. There was a change in the

perceived value of the gift. At times of excessively high prices caused by famine, even elevated population levels could not maintain a large volume of donations to shrines. The laity sought to protect their income for more worldly purposes. Those with coin were best placed to withstand the economic pressure associated with food-shortages. A deadly epidemic capable of indiscriminately wiping out a substantial proportion of the population encouraged the medieval populous to consider their souls and chances of eternal salvation.<sup>44</sup> The threat of death and disease increased the value of intercession as pilgrims sought remission of sin. Furthermore, the new-found suspicion of the poor after the Black Death may also have played a role in augmenting pilgrim trends. It is plausible that gifts to saints increased because acts of charity and benevolence to support the poor, which had previously been viewed as a reliable method to cleanse the soul of sin, became less common.<sup>45</sup> *Per capita* wealth and a stronger compulsion to consider the afterlife and the desire for eternal salvation played significant roles in determining pilgrim behaviours and trends.

### *Seasonal Trends in Pilgrimage*

The accounts not only offer a fresh insight into long-term pilgrimage trends in the fourteenth century but provide a more nuanced understanding of seasonal variation and cyclical patterns in pilgrimage. Much research has identified seasonal trends in pilgrimage and testified to the pilgrim's preferment of summer over winter journeys, when milder and dryer climates and improved roads facilitated favourable travelling conditions.<sup>46</sup> One of the most common methods for evaluating pilgrimage trends is to estimate the number of pilgrims from the volume of coin collected at a shrine. The larger the volume of coin collected, the more numerous the pilgrim visitors. Previously, available shrine accounts, which were rendered bi-annually, have suggested that more pilgrims ventured to shrines over the summer months.<sup>47</sup> A late summer or early autumn opening was often more lucrative than one in late winter or early spring. A second source of evidence which has proven a useful guide to pilgrim behaviour is the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (CIPM). These records were initially intended to determine the ages of heirs. Respected and trusted men had to testify that they knew the age of an heir in question due to a memorable event in their own life coinciding with the heir's

---

<sup>44</sup> For example, John Arnold found increased mention of Purgatory in wills in the post Black Death period, see Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, pp.165-166.

<sup>45</sup> The emerging suspicion of the poor in the late fourteenth century, and its effect on gift-giving is evaluated in more depth in Chapter Five. See Brown, *Popular Piety*, D. Aers, 'Piers Plowman', pp.2-25; C. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.5-25.

<sup>46</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.117; Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.186-189.

<sup>47</sup> See Brown, *Popular Piety*, D. Aers, 'Piers Plowman', pp.2-25; C. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.5-25.

birth. For example, a testator could assert that they had a child of the same age who is old enough to inherit. Webb reviewed these records to evaluate instances of pilgrimage, which revealed significant seasonal patterns. Occasionally, but not routinely, testators declared that their knowledge of an heir's birth year was due to undertaking or returning from a pilgrimage in the same year.<sup>48</sup>

There are problems associated with the CIPM records, which must be taken into consideration. The first is that the records overestimate the frequency of pilgrimage to shrines overseas. Trends in international pilgrimage, the most prevalent form of pilgrimage in the CIPM records, cannot easily be compared to more regional or local pilgrimage, which likely dominated pilgrim culture.<sup>49</sup> It is therefore difficult to arrive at any substantiated conclusions on pilgrim behaviours within England throughout the fourteenth century using the CIPM records alone. If the identified trends were to be extrapolated, the CIPM records would suggest that only 19 per cent of pilgrims were destined for English shrines. A staggering 81 per cent of pilgrims would have travelled overseas. This puts too much emphasis on international pilgrimage. International pilgrimage was perhaps a more memorable event because it was a once in a lifetime occurrence. It is thus possible that pilgrims returning, embarking upon, or preparing for a journey to an international shrine were able to recall coinciding births more easily. A witness would not have recalled a regular or annual event as it would not testify as reliably to the age of the heir. The lack of references to national or local shrines thus actually suggests that shorter pilgrimage journeys were more commonplace and thus surrounding or coinciding events were not as noteworthy.

A further problem associated with the CIPM records is that they only include men within the sample because women were prohibited from appearing as witnesses. The records therefore present pilgrimage as an entirely masculine activity. Occasionally, the records do refer to women but offer no indication of the proportion of female pilgrimage.<sup>50</sup> The CIPM evidence alone therefore cannot be used to evaluate effectively the frequency of international and national pilgrim trends. However, if used in conjunction with other forms of evidence pertaining to pilgrim trends, such as shrine accounts, the CIPM records are a valuable resource

---

<sup>48</sup> For example, in the tenth year of the reign of Edward, William was born at Ulram. Richard agrees as the following Feast of the Purification he went on a pilgrimage to Santiago. See A. E. Stamp, E. Salisbury, E. G. Atkinson & J. J. O'Reilly, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 10 Edward III*, (1921), p.366. (hereafter referred to as CIPM).

<sup>49</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp.166-168; Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.213.

<sup>50</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.187.

in evaluating pilgrimage behaviour. Previously, the CIPM data were the only evidence to offer monthly, rather than bi-annual trends. Conclusions drawn from the CIPM concerning seasonal variation will be tested using new evidence within the Lincoln common fund shrine records.

The CIPM records suggest that pilgrims frequently undertook both international pilgrimage to Santiago Compostella, Rome, and Jerusalem and national pilgrimages, predominantly to Thomas Becket's shrine in Canterbury, from late-winter to mid-summer. The records indicate that pilgrimage was common place and can precisely date the year and month of pilgrim departure. Webb noticed peaks in the number of pilgrims traveling overseas in February and those both remaining in England and venturing further afield at Easter.<sup>51</sup> Webb found that the records included twenty-eight instances of national pilgrimage, of which twenty-one cases involved the shrine of Thomas Becket, and a further 127 cases to shrines abroad between the years 1297 and 1405.<sup>52</sup> Whilst this may initially seem a small sample size, many instances referred to large parties of pilgrims rather than individuals. For example, one witness stated that he embarked on a pilgrimage to Boxe with eleven others, which demonstrates that pilgrims travelled in large groups.<sup>53</sup> Webb used the CIPM records to conclude that a high proportion of the laity embarked on pilgrimages over the course of their lives in the fourteenth century.<sup>54</sup>

The CIPM evidence can also be used to estimate the distances travelled, and the time of year pilgrimages were undertaken. For example, if we know a child was born in a village in Lincolnshire and their birth was confirmed due to a group of pilgrims embarking on the following feast of the Purification to Santiago, we know that Lincolnshire pilgrims were travelling as far as Spain, leaving in February. Such evidence is unattainable using shrine accounts alone, in which the individual pilgrim's voice is subsumed into the mass. It is impossible to ascertain pilgrims' origins or whether they travelled alone or in groups using only shrine accounts. The CIPM data can thus offer a much more nuanced understanding of pilgrim practices and behaviour. These records are also largely continuous throughout the fourteenth century and offer detailed evidence that may be related to the shrine revenues in Lincoln's common fund.

---

<sup>51</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.190.

<sup>52</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.186.

<sup>53</sup> CIPM 13 p.258.

<sup>54</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.186-190.

The records testify to a definite decline in national pilgrimage during the winter months, with no witnesses departing to an English shrine between November and January. By contrast, sixteen of the ninety-nine cases of pilgrimage to Compostella de Santiago began in these months. Webb's study found that international pilgrimage was less common in June and July, a phenomenon she attributed to the influence of Thomas Becket's feast day. Pilgrims were deterred from international travel in these months because they were instead influenced by the pull of Saint Thomas' shrine.<sup>55</sup> The spiritual value attributed to venerating Saint Thomas Becket on a specific day appears to have shaped annual cycles of pilgrimage. A second argument to explain a decline in the level of international pilgrimage in the June and July months is that pilgrims were perhaps concerned with high temperatures if they ventured to southern Europe or the Holy Land in the height of summer. It is possible that a dip in pilgrimage to shrines overseas in the hottest months is evidence that English pilgrims did not wish to be travelling in excessive heat. It was more practical for them to time their pilgrimages so as to coincide with more moderate climates abroad. This does not offer, however, explain the high number of pilgrims departing to international shrines in the winter. The beginning of their journey would have been difficult, and it is possible that sea crossings at this time of year were more treacherous.

Figure Five shows the seasonal differences of national and international pilgrimage. It uses the CIPM data to show the percentage of pilgrimages begun in each month. The graph's trend lines highlight that national pilgrimage peaked in the summer months. International pilgrimage, however, is the mirror image of the national pattern. The graph indicates a strong link between mild climates and pilgrimages. Pilgrims most frequently chose to begin a journey to an English shrine in between April and June, when temperatures were warm but not too hot. They also risked poor weather conditions at the start of their journey to international shrines and begun pilgrimages earlier in order to avoid the hottest times of year in Italy, Spain, and the Holy Land.

Despite the dangers of embarking on a winter pilgrimage, there were twenty-seven instances of pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella which all began on the feast of the Purification, February 2<sup>nd</sup>. This equated to 36 per cent of all pilgrimages from England to St James at Santiago. The high number of pilgrimages all occurring on the same day from different locations suggests that the day of departure was important. It cannot be a coincidence that such

---

<sup>55</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p.189.

a high proportion of pilgrims began their journey on this date. To date, there has been no research into whether the feast of the Purification was symbolically significant. The feast marks Mary's return to Church after giving birth to Christ. The occurrence of pilgrimage on this feast day could suggest that Mary's purification was seen as an ideal date for a vow of pilgrimage. The idea that a religious journey could cleanse the soul is a similar concept to the cleansing of Mary after pregnancy. The feast, also known as Candlemas, celebrates Jesus's first entry to the temple and his presentation to God, which also has obvious spiritual connotations. Alternatively, or additionally, perhaps pilgrims departed on this date with the hope of arriving at their destination at Easter or during Pentecost, which an analysis of the CIPM data and common fund accounts suggests were the preferred dates. The nature of international pilgrimage, and the fact that it was likely to be only completed once in a lifetime, suggests that it became essential to the pilgrim to follow strict religious procedures to maximise any spiritual benefit and heighten their display of piety. This motivation outweighed any practical considerations.

#### *Seasonal Pilgrimage Trends in Lincoln*

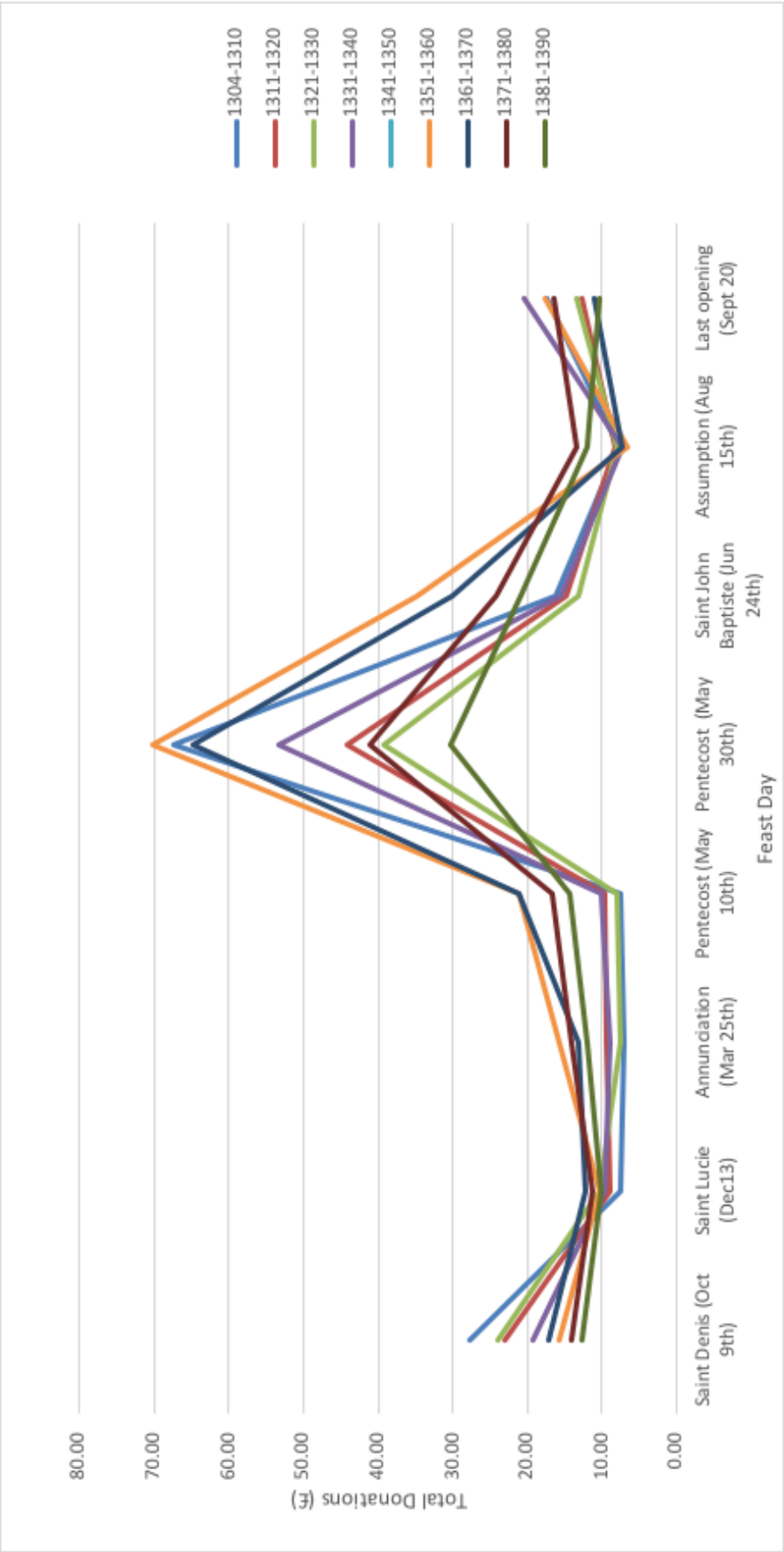
The data within the CIPM records largely corroborate the cyclical patterns found within the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. With eight regular openings of the shrine collection boxes, distributed evenly throughout the year, the common fund accounts can for the first time facilitate a closer analysis of annual cycles of pilgrimage. The fact that the shrines within the common fund were opened so frequently, enables analysis of the effects of the religious calendar, weather conditions, and other seasonal commitments on patterns of pilgrimage. The common fund accounts indicate that pilgrimage was cyclical in character and annual cycles and patterns remained largely continuous throughout the fourteenth century. The shrine accounts at Lincoln Cathedral highlight the significance of logistical considerations. For example, low levels of veneration in July and August each year indicates that it was more problematic for pilgrims to embark on a pilgrimage during busy months of the agricultural calendar. Considerations of climate were not as fundamental as spiritual symbolism and other logistical concerns. Pilgrims undertook a pilgrimage to coincide with important feast days and ceremonies.

Figure Five: National and International Pilgrim Trends





Figure Six: Ten-year averages of pilgrim donations



The volume of coin counted on each aperture date acts as a guide to predict the number of pilgrims reaching Lincoln and offering a donation to one of the saints. An estimation of the total number of pilgrims visiting Lincoln Cathedral at a particular time of year is calculated by converting the overall recorded sum of donations at each opening into pence. Such a methodology, which was adopted by Nilson in his study of national pilgrimage trends, assumes that each pilgrim left one pence.<sup>56</sup> One pence therefore equates to one pilgrim. Any pilgrim offering less, is counterbalanced by those offering more. Many miracle reports, which state that pilgrims often vowed to donate a penny to a shrine and bent or defaced a coin to ensure it was not spent on route, testify to the reliability of this practice.<sup>57</sup> The hypothesis that pilgrims consistently donated one pence each provides a reasonable comparative measure. The calculation is only an estimation and cannot reveal the true number of pilgrims with certainty. It can however, be used to identify patterns and long-term trends in the number of pilgrims visiting Lincoln Cathedral throughout the fourteenth century.

The average number of pilgrims arriving at Lincoln a day between each aperture date can then be calculated by dividing the total number of pence counted on one opening by the number of days passed since the previous opening. For example, if the total number of pence collected at the Annunciation of the Lady is divided by the 102 days since the previous opening on the feast of Saint Lucy, it is possible to estimate the daily number of pilgrims venerating Lincoln's saints between December 13<sup>th</sup> and March 25<sup>th</sup>. The number of pilgrims reaching the Cathedral at different times of year can then easily be compared to one another. It is necessary to calculate daily averages as the number of days between each opening affects the overall impression given by the data. For example, one opening may record extraordinarily high values but offerings may have been allowed to accumulate over a long period of time. In contrast, another opening with a small level of donations may only have been generated over very few days and could therefore still represent a popular time of year for pilgrim visitors.

Figure Six shows the ten-year averages of the number of pilgrims visiting Lincoln a day between each of the eight aperture dates. The annual cycle for each decade was strikingly similar. Pentecost week saw the most visitors to the shrines each day. Over a ten-day period between 1304 and 1386, an average of 1087 pilgrims a day left a penny at one of Lincoln Cathedral's saints' shrines included within the common fund. The second busiest period each

---

<sup>56</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.114.

<sup>57</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp.94-5.

year at the Cathedral was between the last opening in September and the feast of Saint Denis in October, which saw an average of 229 pilgrims a day. This was closely followed by June, which saw 222 pilgrims a day. The quietest time for pilgrim visitors was the week before Easter where the shrines only saw an average of seven pilgrims a day. Figure Four highlights that the summer months were substantially more favoured than winter. The six months between early April and early October saw a daily average of 292 pilgrims, as opposed to the twelve a day between October and April, which indicates a strong desire on behalf of the pilgrim to travel when the climate was temperate.

Pentecost exaggerates the summer and winter divide each year due to the high number of pilgrims venturing to Lincoln over that one week. Over 32 per cent of all pilgrims arrived at Lincoln to offer a donation to the saints during the week of Pentecost. The accounts do not suggest that anything unusual happened at Pentecost, such as extraordinarily large donations offered by a few rich individuals. The Pentecost opening was recorded identically to all the others. Pentecost involved processions at the Cathedral, for which there is evidence in the accounts under a separate revenue subheading titled *Pentecostalia*. Under this subheading, the scribe recorded the total Pentecost offerings from each archdeaconry in the diocese. It is possible that those arriving at the Cathedral as part of the procession used this event as an opportune moment to simultaneously offer a donation to the saints. The pull of Pentecost as a particularly desirable time to offer a donation to the saints at Lincoln may be responsible for the preceding dip in the Easter offerings. Pilgrims may have delayed undertaking a pilgrimage immediately before Pentecost to time their arrival at Lincoln with the ongoing religious celebrations.<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, the shrine accounts of Saint Hugh suggest that Pentecost had a significant effect on attracting high numbers of pilgrims. The accounts of Lincoln's only official saint were collected twice annually; on Pentecost and the Translation of Saint Hugh, which fell on the feast of Saint Denis on October 9<sup>th</sup>. Figure Seven highlights that Pentecost was the most popular time of year to venerate Saint Hugh throughout the period, especially during the first half of the fourteenth century. If the summer months had been conducive to an increase in pilgrimage, then the October opening should have been more lucrative. Despite the improved

---

<sup>58</sup> D. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, (Welwyn Garden City: Lincoln Record Society, 1990), p.42. Owen states that Pentecostals were an important part of Chapter's income. Archdeacons transmitted funds to the treasury during Pentecostal synod. See C.W. Foster, & K. Major, *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1935), pp. 13-15, 58-60, 256; DIOC/REG/2 f.339v.

climate during the summer, more pilgrims arrived in Lincoln to venerate Saint Hugh at his shrine between October and May. For the majority of the fourteenth century, the Pentecost opening received sums over 40 per cent higher than the feast of the Translation of Saint Hugh in October. It is unlikely that the shrine of Saint Hugh saw a steady stream of visitors throughout the coldest months. The shrines of the saints found within the common fund suggest that pilgrims were deterred from pilgrimage in the depths of winter. In a similar manner, it is probable that the aperture records for Saint Hugh mask a sudden increase in the number of pilgrims venerating at the shrine immediately before the Pentecost opening. Figure Seven highlights that the difference between the number of pilgrims venerating Lincoln's saints before Pentecost and during the summer months suddenly reduced from the 1380s. Pentecost seems to have lost its appeal as a specific date for pilgrimage in the years towards the end of the fourteenth century.

There are other signs within the accounts that specific symbolic days took precedence in the pilgrim's calendar, which particularly highlight the significance of the laity's spiritual affinity with Bishop Grosseteste. As Figure Six demonstrates, the second most popular period for pilgrim veneration were the weeks between the last opening in mid-September (approximately September 21<sup>st</sup>) and the feast of Saint Denis on October 9<sup>th</sup>, the anniversary of Robert Grosseteste's death. Pilgrims chose to coincide pilgrimage to commemorate and venerate this unofficial saint on a symbolically significant day. On average, during the period shortly before Michaelmas and the feast of Saint Denis, the shrines welcomed a daily average of 229 pilgrims. Seasonal considerations were not substantial enough to divert interest in Bishop Grosseteste. October's climate is not extreme, yet it is less favourable than preceding months. Despite a colder, wetter climate, pilgrims still preferred to venture to the Cathedral in order to worship at his shrine on a specific festal day.

The later fourteenth century brought a slight shift in pilgrimage patterns. The weeks between Pentecost and the feast of Saint John the Baptist became the second most lucrative opening from the 1350s. It is possible that a century after Grosseteste's death in the later fourteenth century, his popularity began to decrease slightly. Although his shrine remained lucrative, as indicated by the high levels of offerings throughout the later fourteenth century, perhaps pilgrims were less likely to make a concerted effort to coincide pilgrimage with the anniversary of his death. One explanation for a distinct increase in the number of venerating pilgrims in June after the Black Death is the impact of Lincoln's fair, which fell between June 17<sup>th</sup> and

29<sup>th</sup>.<sup>59</sup> As shown in Chapter One, it is likely that Lincoln's economy remained buoyant in the aftermath of the Black Death. It is possible that the rise in offerings in June was a consequence of an increase in traders or merchants at the fair of Lincoln, due to the city's thriving wool trade who used their being at Lincoln market as an opportunity to offer a donation to Lincoln's saints.<sup>60</sup>

Figure Eight compares evidence of national pilgrimage from the CIPM data with estimated numbers of pilgrims from the Lincoln shrine accounts. It records the percentage of pilgrimage across the year. One crucial difference in the nature of the evidence is that the CIPM data usually record the date of embarkation (with a couple of exceptions) and the Lincoln evidence records the date before which a pilgrim must have reached their destination. The Lincoln evidence only provides a window of opportunity for a pilgrim to arrive at the Cathedral and make a donation to a preferred saint. The graph clearly highlights the pull of Robert Grosseteste's shrine. There were no instances of pilgrimage in October within the CIPM records, but the number of pilgrims reaching Lincoln Cathedral is high. Figure Eight also highlights that many pilgrims departed to other English shrines in April and arrived at Lincoln in May; arguably with the intention of reaching their destination at Pentecost. Perhaps Webb's assertion that Easter was the most dominant feast day to undertake a pilgrimage is misplaced. Both the CIPM records and common fund account data suggest pilgrims were more likely to have timed a pilgrimage to coincide with Pentecost.

---

<sup>59</sup> 'The Gazeteer of Markets and Fairs', *Centre for Metropolitan History*, <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> [accessed 4/9/2017].

<sup>60</sup> Alan Kissane has recently argued that the wool trade kept the City of Lincoln financially buoyant in the later fourteenth century. See A. Kissane, *Civic community in late medieval Lincoln: urban society and economy in the age of the Black Death, 1289–1409* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.17–49.

Figure Seven: Pentecost and Translation openings at Shrines of Saint Hugh

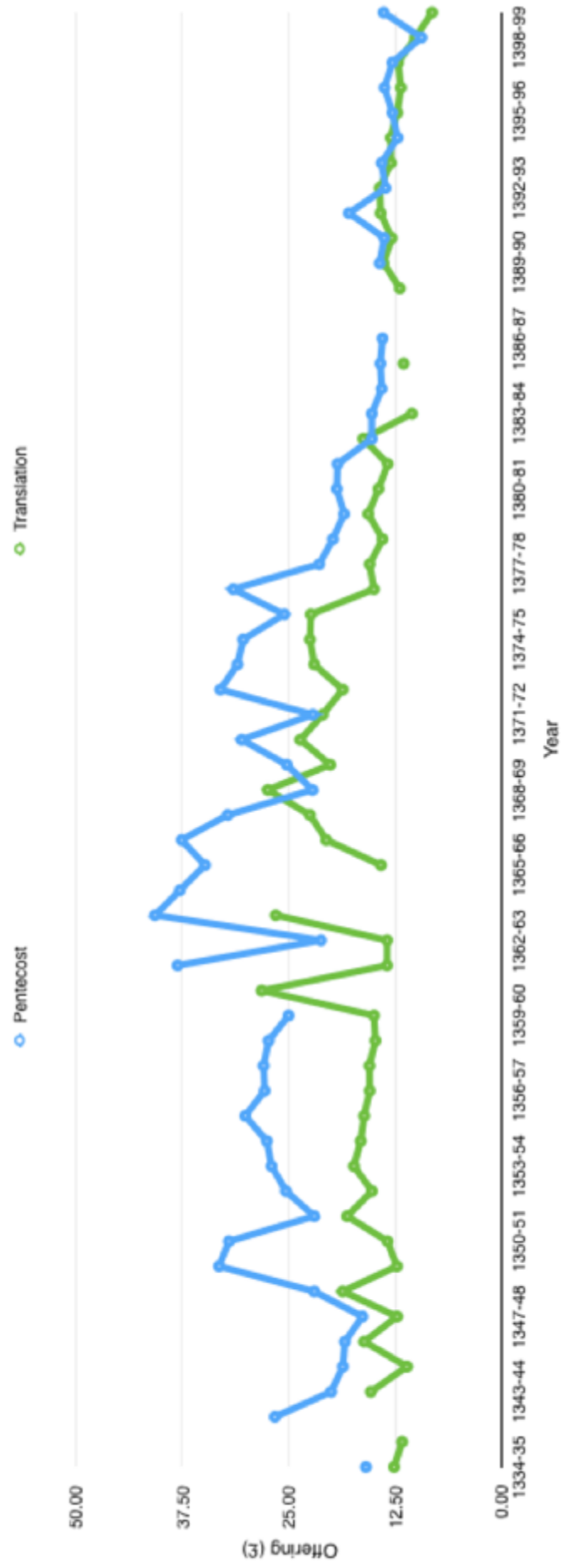
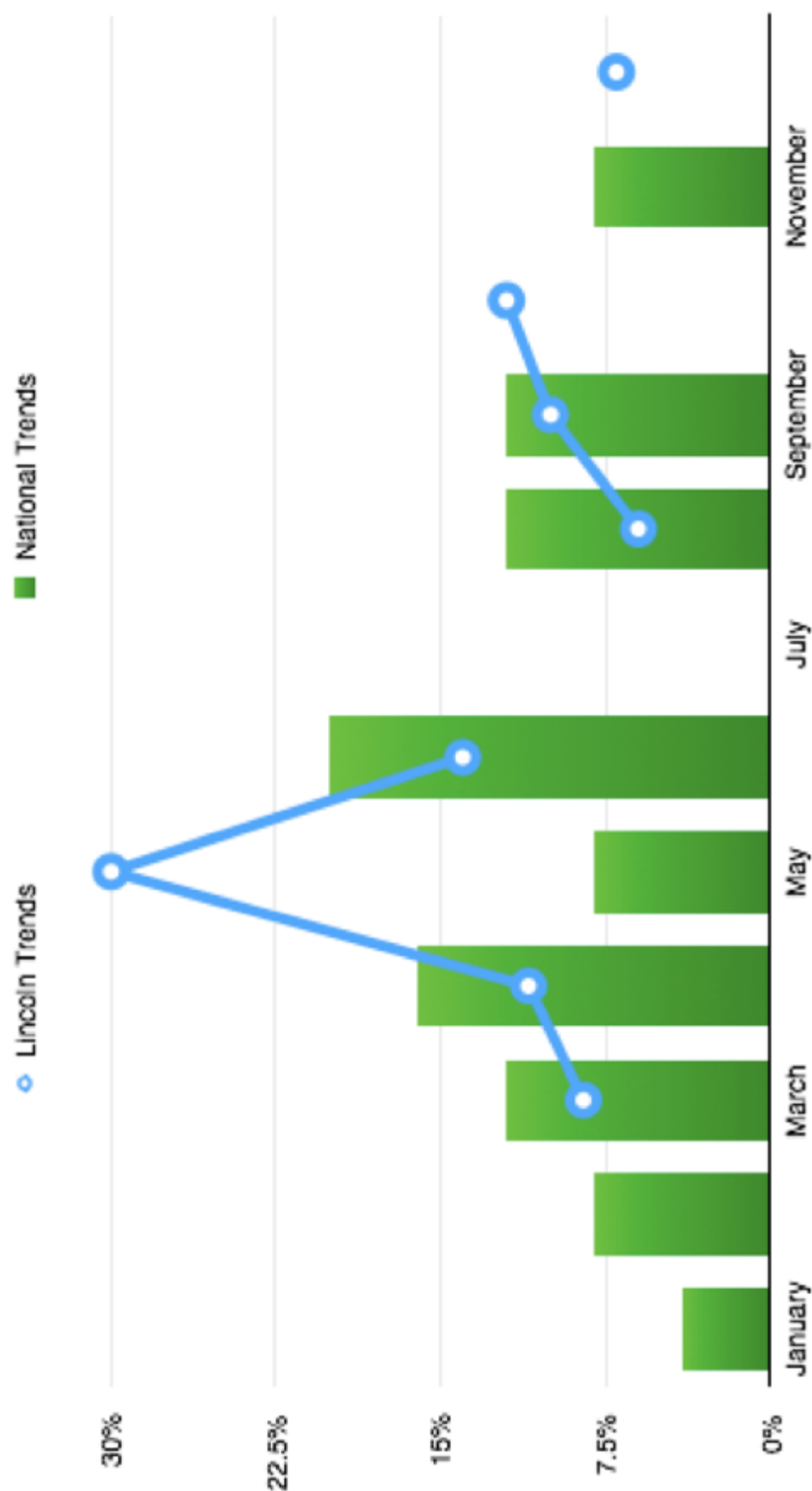


Figure Seven: National Trends and Offerings to Lincoln's Saints



Another observation is the distinct dip in the number of pilgrims arriving at Lincoln Cathedral in August compared to the number of pilgrims embarking on journeys elsewhere. August should have been conducive to a sustained level of pilgrimage because it was warm and dry. A probable cause for this temporary drop is the agricultural calendar. August was the month in which those working on the land would most struggle to leave farms and manors because it was the season for harvesting crops.<sup>61</sup> This would have been the farm labourers' most important task and thus restricted their ability to travel. As most of the population were agricultural workers, it makes sense that the month of the harvest saw a drop in the level of offerings. Any pilgrims still undertaking pilgrimage in August would most likely be those artisans or journeymen who were not limited by harvest cycles, who are arguably far more likely than farming peasants to appear as witnesses in CIPM data. The fact that August offerings were substantially lower at Lincoln than national trends indicates that a large proportion of the pilgrims visiting Lincoln occupied the lowest social position. Trends in Lincoln's shrine revenue was more affected by harvest obligations than trends in the CIPM. Those men testifying as witnesses and included within the CIPM records were perhaps not as tied to the harvest and could freely embark on pilgrimage in August. Finucane's research supports this finding. He found that pilgrimage required some form of plan, and that farming peasants could not wander off on pilgrimage at critical times in the agricultural calendar.<sup>62</sup> Finucane's research on shrine accounts indicates that the most popular months for pilgrimage included Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and Saint Michael feasts but found a distinct relationship between pilgrimage and farming. More pilgrims visited shrines when they were not obliged to work on the harvest.<sup>63</sup>

Both sets of data from Lincoln's common fund and the CIPM suggest that there was a lack of pilgrims embarking on a pilgrimage to English saints in July. As Figure Seven shows, international pilgrimage was also low during this month. In a similar vein to the August decline witnessed in the common fund account data, this could also have been the result of working commitments. July was the month in which agricultural labourers would be required to weed and plough the land in preparation for the harvest.<sup>64</sup> This was an important, tedious, and demanding job. However, the fact that the shrine accounts and CIPM data both show a drop

---

<sup>61</sup> C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), pp.77-79.

<sup>62</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p.48.

<sup>63</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p.48.

<sup>64</sup> See 'The Medieval Farming Year', *Withridge Historical Archive*, <http://www.witheridge-historical-archive.com/medieval-year.htm> [accessed 27/02/18].



in July, suggests this may not be due to the harvest. August, arguably the busiest month in the agricultural calendar, did not see depleted levels of national pilgrimage in the CIPM records. It is plausible that the July dip in local, national, and international pilgrimage was the result of high-prices or a shortage of food. Perhaps pilgrimage became more burdensome when food became scarce. Food stocks were at their lowest point immediately before the harvest. Pilgrimage may have decreased as the procurement of food became a higher priority. The decline in pilgrimage during the famine demonstrates that long-term pilgrimage trends were influenced by the availability of subsistence. Analysis of seasonal trends indicates that this also happened on an annual basis.

Due to the sporadic nature of the evidence, it is difficult to ascertain whether prices fluctuated throughout the year. Assizes, from which it is possible to determine the prices of staple goods such as bread and beer, were changed infrequently so there should have been a constant and set price for bread and ale. Using court documents, it is possible to evaluate whether food became more difficult to purchase in the months directly preceding the harvest. A preliminary analysis of sessions of the peace in Lincolnshire indicates that more bakers and brewers were charged with breaking the assize or forestalling in July, which would suggest that bakers and brewers were hoping to profit from a lack of grain in circulation by unlawfully increasing the price per pound of their produce.<sup>65</sup> A rise in the number of producers breaking the assize in the summer months could therefore testify to a shortage of food as they were seeking to profit from the demand for produce outstripping the supply. An increase in food prices or a shortage in produce may therefore explain the drop in July pilgrimage.

In contrast, the market conditions after the harvest ensured there was more competition between producers. If producers broke the assize after the harvest, customers could purchase goods elsewhere. Assuming that the proportion of bakers and brewers accused of breaking the assize remained constant in relation to the total number committing the offence, the July market suggests that food became more expensive and difficult to attain. When food became a priority, there was a limited amount of surplus money available for the laity to spend on pilgrimage. Vows to complete such religious journeys were therefore more likely to be fulfilled when necessities were more affordable. The negative correlation between food-availability and

---

<sup>65</sup> See R. Sillem, *Some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire, 1360-1375*, (Hereford: Lincoln Record Society, 1936); E.G. Kimball, *Sessions of the Peace in the city of Lincoln 1351-1354 and the Borough of Stamford 1351*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1971); E.G. Kimball, *Some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire 1381-1396 volume I*, (Hereford: Lincoln Record Society, 1955).

pilgrimage shows the priority of subsistence and draws parallels with trends in pilgrimage during famine years, as explored earlier in this chapter. Veneration of saints was of less importance than survival and the purchase of food in times of scarcity.

### *Conclusion*

The common fund accounts offer a unique insight into the daily lives of the laity in the fourteenth century. The availability of the data and the frequency and regularity with which the shrines were opened means that the Lincoln accounts are of unparalleled use for evaluating pilgrim trends and behaviour in the fourteenth century. The number of openings throughout the year adds further nuance to current understanding of annual cycles of pilgrimage. For the first time, it is possible to determine the extent to which pilgrimage trends were subject to seasonal fluctuations. The trends identified from the common fund cannot necessarily be applied to all shrines throughout the country, but the accounts testify to the impact of harvest, the climate, and symbolism of particular saints on pilgrim behaviour and practices. Pilgrims considered logistical practicalities but also aimed to undertake a pilgrimage at symbolically important dates, namely saints' feast days and Pentecost. Trends in pilgrim behaviour and practices suggests that the relative value of their gift and the opportunity to enter into an alliance with a saint changed throughout the year. A gift to a saint was more likely to succeed in establishing the desired relationship if offered on a symbolically significant day.

The Lincoln evidence also highlights the changing value of saints and intercession over the course of the century and largely corroborates Nilson's model, which was based upon a range of different shrines. The evidence of Lincoln's shrines presented here suggests that it is worthwhile attempting to establish national pilgrim trends. Analysis of the common fund and Nilson's research agree that the first half of the century was marked by stagnation and the latter by a surge of interest in saints and their powers. The period between 1304 and 1386 saw a few years of unusually low levels of pilgrimage during years of food-shortages and excessively high prices. Pilgrims were deterred from offering donations to shrines when their survival was dependent upon the ability to purchase food. The correlation between famine and pilgrimage in the early fourteenth century suggests that gifts to saints were of less importance when there was severe economic instability. The laity reacted by preserving finances and prioritising subsistence. The trends in pilgrimage over the century indicate a significant change in mentality. The decline in pilgrimage during episodes of high prices, coupled with a sudden increase in pilgrimage in the aftermath of epidemic, suggests that in the second half of the

century the laity were more preoccupied and concerned with salvation. During famine people sought to survive but sought to protect their soul in the age of the Black Death.

Pilgrimage offers an insight into the practices and behaviour of the laity. It highlights the ways in which the laity used gift-exchange to create alliances with saints and allows for an understanding on the importance of such relationships. An analysis of the number of pilgrims venerating Lincoln's saints suggests that social, spiritual, and economic factors all shaped pilgrim behaviour and influenced the value of the ceremonial gift. Years of extreme food scarcity prevented gift-exchange and devalued the relationship between pilgrim and saint. Sudden population decline, accompanied by an increased concern for salvation and a rise in *per capita* wealth, facilitated and encouraged such gift-giving. When the laity had surplus funds available and feared for their souls they placed more importance on intercession and repentance. The individual legacies of saints also shaped and influenced pilgrim behaviour as the laity chose to venerate saints and their shrines on specific holy days. An evaluation of pilgrimage in fourteenth-century Lincoln highlights the changing value of the ceremonial gift in an age of famine and plague. Intercession was a more valuable and precious commodity when personal wealth did not necessarily guarantee survival.

## Chapter Four: The Pilgrim and Ceremonial Giving: a reassessment of dichotomy between official and unofficial saints.

This chapter draws upon the pilgrimage trends evaluated in Chapter Three to reassess the relationship between pilgrims and those saints who failed to receive recognition of their sanctity from the papacy. The shrine accounts within the common fund are unique as they provide an indication of the levels of pilgrimage to saints who were not officially canonised. Previous studies have explored the lives and legacies of several unofficial saints, including Robert Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort, but have not made use of shrine records.<sup>1</sup> Without quantifiable data relating to shrine income, it is impossible to estimate the extent of veneration, which prevents an understanding of a saint's popularity amongst pilgrims. For the first time, the Lincoln evidence allows for a more nuanced understanding of differences in the type of relationship mitigated by gift-exchange between pilgrims and official and unofficial saints. The chapter argues that the common fund accounts reveal the extent of gift-giving and veneration at the unofficial shrines at Lincoln Cathedral and do not suggest a binary contrast of accepted and failed saints. The volume of pilgrims venerating at the unofficial saints' shrines suggests that it was not only officially recognised saints who could generate long-term cults. The popularity of the unofficial saints at Lincoln supports André Vauchez's assertion that local bishops and institutions were largely responsible for managing cults. The papacy did little to prevent the growth of saints who were not deemed worthy of official recognition but whose cults were still tolerable for the Church and Crown.<sup>2</sup>

The chapter first demonstrates that only saints who had failed to achieve papal recognition were included within the common fund accounts and then places the evidence of Lincoln's unofficial saints within the existing discourse on sanctity and sainthood in the fourteenth century. The degree of veneration at the shrines of unofficial saints at Lincoln Cathedral, ascertained through counting the volume of coin collected in the common fund, suggests that pilgrimage trends were not inextricably linked to papal authority but rather to the teachings, sermons, and practices of local clergymen and members of the elite in the diocese. A saint's image was successfully invoked in traditions and customs for as long as a patron instigated and promoted their claim to sanctity. In the case of Lincoln's saints, such patrons included the Cathedral's canons and bishops. Local institutional or individual support of an unofficial saint was, however, largely tied to a saint's success in receiving papal recognition. Without official recognition, a saint's legacy was often at the mercy of successive

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, see J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral Publications, 2003); C. Valente, 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the utility of sanctity in the thirteenth-century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21.1 (1995), pp.27-49.

<sup>2</sup> A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.89-90.

patrons and so was more precariously placed than those with legitimation from the pope.<sup>3</sup> It was not papal authority itself, but local churches' acceptance and adherence of it that shaped pilgrim trends.

Saints and sanctity played an important role in the Middle Ages and remained popular in fourteenth-century society.<sup>4</sup> A saint's image had many uses; from adorning churches to providing moral or spiritual authority in uprisings. Shrine accounts are widely studied to determine the popularity of saints, but these are largely confined to the realm of official saints who benefitted from papal recognition of their sanctity. Evidence of those without such commendations is mainly derived from chronicles or canonisation petitions. The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter facilitate a new interpretation of the relationship between unofficial saint, pilgrim, and the Church. The common fund, containing yearly shrine accounts of saints who were not canonised, are largely continuous throughout the fourteenth century and contribute to current understanding of the durability of cults that lacked official legitimation. The cults of unofficial saints at Lincoln Cathedral lasted well over a hundred years, with popularity only beginning to wain towards the end of the fourteenth century, when popular fervour towards saints was arguably declining nationally.<sup>5</sup> Pilgrims consistently believed that the unofficial saints at Lincoln deserved veneration and were capable of providing intercession and remission of sin.

From 1234, with the publication of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, only the pope could officially declare or recognise the sanctity of a saint. In brief, the canonisation process began with a petition to the pope to request a formal enquiry into the life and miracles of the deceased. The papacy then deliberated over which petitions should be pursued and sent messengers, or nuncios, to investigate through holding trials and gathering data. The nuncios then advised the pope on the evidence of a candidate's sanctity. If the campaign was successful, the newly canonised saint would receive a translation ceremony in which their body was moved to a more holy location, usually before an altar in a cathedral church. The dates of the canonisation and translation ceremonies often then became feast days to honour the new saint. Pilgrims saw this as a heightened opportunity for miracles as a saint was thought to be at their most powerful around their death, canonisation, translation, and important anniversaries.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> See C. Valente, 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in Thirteenth Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), pp.27-49. Valente argues that a patron and supporter was crucial for the development of Simon de Montfort's cult.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: its rise in Latin Christianity*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press: 2014).

<sup>5</sup> See B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp.168-172. Study found that 1400 marked the turning point for a downturn in pilgrim trends.

<sup>6</sup> For further information on the canonization process, see E.W. Kemp, *Canonisation and Authority in the Western Church*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).

E.W. Kemp found that the papacy only recognised seven new saints between 1267 and 1378.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Vauchez found that between the years 1198 and 1268, forty-seven processes were launched, of which twenty-three were successful. A sudden fall between 1269 and 1304 meant only one canonisation was granted from the two trials that took place. Between 1305 and 1378, twelve processes were launched, in which six were successful.<sup>8</sup> The data indicate a significant drop in the number of new saints but highlight a constant 50 per cent success rate of canonisation trials. Arguably there was an increased difficulty in securing the initial canonisation enquiry. The stricter policy of 1234 was introduced in attempt to limit the increasing demand for miracles and divine favour.<sup>9</sup> However, the prevalence and popularity of the unofficial saints at Lincoln suggests widespread ignorance or rejection of papal autonomy over the creation of saints. It remains to be tested whether the wider public and laity at national and local levels accepted and abided by the papacy's authority.

At Lincoln, there were multiple shrines available to the visiting pilgrim, including those pertaining to Bishop Remigius (d.1092), Saint Hugh of Avalon (d.1200), Robert Grosseteste (d.1253), Little Saint Hugh (d. 1255), and, from 1320, John Dalderby. With only Saint Hugh recognised by the papacy, in 1220, the others remained unofficial objects of veneration despite several attempts by the bishops and Chapter of Lincoln to achieve their canonisation.<sup>10</sup> Canonisation campaigns were a very lengthy and costly undertaking. They required letters and backing from many high-profile supporters. Vauchez argued that a dichotomy between official and unofficial saints began to emerge from the thirteenth century. Clerics were criticised for encouraging veneration of unofficial saints and, where *beati* and *sancti* had previously been synonymous, saints without papal recognition were no longer classed as *sancti*. They were also only depicted with rays in images rather than a halo and could not benefit from a public cult.<sup>11</sup> The suppression of unofficial saints suggests that papal recognition played a substantial role in prolonging the longevity of a cult and that perhaps unofficial saints were assumed to have a lower status. John Theilmann's study on political canonisation emphasises the importance of papal legitimacy as a precursor to the establishment of a successful political cult. He used the

---

<sup>7</sup> Kemp, *Canonisation and Authority*, p.107.

<sup>8</sup> A. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p.61.

<sup>9</sup> According to the *Decretals*, there are five points for papal reservation: 1) Canonisation is one of the *maiores causae* which arise among Christians and are to be referred to the Apostolic See. 2) Because miracles are attributed to faith, canonisation seems to be bound up with matters of faith, the definition of which belongs as a right to the pope. 3) It is part of the pope's commission to decide doubtful places of Scripture, how much more therefore, should it be his office to determine doubtful cases of sanctity in which greater dangers may be involved. 4) The papal reservation is desirable so that people shall not be deceived and led astray by the simplicity of the many bishops. 5) It is desirable so that there shall not be unlimited multiplication of saints such as would lead public charity and devotion to grow cold and would lower the general estimate of sanctity. In *Tertium Decretalium librum Commentaria*, Venice edition, 1581 f.172.

<sup>10</sup> R.E.G. Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln', Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaonaries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester, 35.1 (1915), pp.1-28; R. Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of John Dalderby Bishop of Lincoln', Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaonaries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester, 35.1 (1915), pp.243-276.

<sup>11</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp.86-95.

examples of Archbishop Scrope, Thomas Lancaster, and Simon de Montfort to argue that a lack of official legitimisation for a cult restricted the baronial supporters' ability to benefit from the symbolism attached to a saintly legacy during uprisings against the Crown. Thielmann concluded that there was a growing awareness for the symbolic value of canonisation from the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The cults of unofficial saints were far more likely to fall from public consciousness without constant promotion. An initially flurry of support could quickly diminish.

However, despite their lack of papal recognition, many unofficial pilgrimages and saint cults still developed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In particular, the centuries saw a rise in the number of saints whose images became the figurehead of baronial rebellions against the crown.<sup>13</sup> The papacy was unable to prevent the proliferation of new saints. They could attempt to suppress the supply, but not the demand. Vauchez recognised the distinction between the supply and demand of saints and argued that popes became increasingly reluctant to create saints as the demand rose. They feared that meeting an ever-increasing demand would weaken the power and value of sanctity.<sup>14</sup> Vauchez noted that the divide between demand and supply was made progressively worse during the papacy of John XXII (1316-1334), whose refusal to canonise saintly candidates created a gulf between sainthood as approved by the Church and that recognised by local churches.<sup>15</sup> It is plausible that unofficial saints and their cults satisfied the high demand for sanctity and miracles during a period in which the papacy was not forthcoming with canonisation.

Unofficial saints were certainly venerated by the laity. In conjunction with evidence of a devout life and heroic virtue, a candidate for sainthood would have been required to display their sanctity through the performance of miracles.<sup>16</sup> Supporters of a saint's cause needed to encourage veneration in the hope of amassing evidence of enough miracles to persuade the papacy to recognise their claim. Proof of an ability to perform miracles was a necessary precursor to official recognition. The papacy often recognised claims decades after a saintly candidate's death, which suggests that pilgrims were offering donations and praying for intercession in the intervening 'unofficial' years.<sup>17</sup> For as long as an institution wished to pursue a candidate's claim to sanctity, and the cult did not face open repression, officials and clergymen could promote unofficial saints and their curative powers in the

---

<sup>12</sup> J. Thielmann, 'Political Canonisation and Political Symbolism in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), pp.249-250.

<sup>13</sup> For example, See J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: a study in the reign of Edward II*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); J.W. McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum*, 45.4 (1970), pp.608-623; Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.27-49.

<sup>14</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp.74-113.

<sup>15</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp.74-113.

<sup>16</sup> D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p.141.

<sup>17</sup> For example, Saint Hugh of Avalon died in 1200 but was canonised in 1220. See J.S. Alexander, 'The Angel Choir of Lincoln Cathedral and the Shrines of St Hugh', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 148.1 (1995), pp.137-147.

hope of attracting veneration. Veneration increased the likelihood of miracles and therefore papal recognition. Venerating unofficial saints was likely commonplace, normalised, and actively encouraged in the hope of securing successful canonisation campaigns in the future.

Evidence exists of miracles that Thomas Cantilupe allegedly performed before he received papal recognition for sanctity. This evidence is dated between his death in 1282 and his canonisation in 1320. The trial records, which document the canonisation trial between 1318 and 1320, contain twenty-eight miraculous incidences.<sup>18</sup> The records of Thomas's miracles suggest that the laity must have venerated him before his official recognition in 1320. The records of Thomas Cantilupe's canonisation process facilitate understanding of the logistics of investigating sanctity in the fourteenth century. For example, one case involved a young boy who had drowned in a well. He was revived, purportedly due to Thomas Cantilupe's intercession, but never returned to full health. His skin was forever scarred, and his face remained discoloured.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps his scars and permanent markings from the experience were mentioned as proof that the boy had indeed suffered such an ordeal. It was the nuncios instructed to carry out the trial, rather than those presenting their miracles, who excuse or justify the lack of a complete cure. The scars were compared to those of martyrs and said to be a sign of victory.<sup>20</sup> The nuncios' justification suggests that they were actively pursuing the positive outcome of the canonisation process. It is possible that their excuses for Thomas's shortcomings indicate their own personal belief in the validity of his claim. The nuncios responsible for Cantilupe's trial believed that the volume and type of miracles attributed to him shortly after his death were sufficient evidence of sanctity.

The miracles of many other unofficial saints were not deemed compelling enough to secure canonisation, but their legacies continued to be invoked throughout the Middle Ages in pursuit of political objectives. Similar to the use of Thomas Becket's legacy, which was reconstructed after his death in 1174 on numerous occasions, the role of a figurehead in political rebellions was not exclusively reserved for saints with recognition from the papacy.<sup>21</sup> Legacies of saints without formal canonisation were used to promote political causes, particularly rebellions against the crown. McKenna highlighted the prevalence in English society to invoke the image of desirable saints. He stated that the political manipulation of popular religious enthusiasm distinguishes the history of

---

<sup>18</sup> There is some dispute concerning the true number of miracles. The original author states 28 but Vauchez counted 26. See R.C. Finucane, 'Authorising the Supernatural: an examination of some English miracles around 1318', in B.C. Bolton and C Meek, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p.290.

<sup>19</sup> A. Vauchez, 'Depositions of the London Franciscans at the Process of the Canonisation of St Thomas of Cantilupe: transcription of MS Vat Lat 4015 fol. 140r-146r', in A. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp.555-558. For analysis, see Finucane, 'Authorising the Supernatural', pp.291-293.

<sup>20</sup> A. Vauchez, 'Depositions of the London Franciscans', pp.555-558. For analysis, see Finucane, 'Authorising the Supernatural', pp.291-293.

<sup>21</sup> A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.224-253.



England from the death of Thomas Becket to the reign of Henry VII.<sup>22</sup> Frequently such saints' cults, which developed to serve political agendas, were often very short-lived. This contributed to the theory that a lack of papal recognition prevented a saint from developing a long-lasting legacy. The use of saint cults as political propaganda has been a recurrent theme in the scholarship of saints since the 1970s and there is much debate concerning the true durability of such cults.<sup>23</sup> Once extraordinarily popular, unofficial saints were often disregarded as the political climate changed.<sup>24</sup>

There is much evidence to suggest that unofficial saints were venerated through durable and stable cults. Examples of unofficial saints used to serve political agendas include Simon de Montfort, Archbishop Scrope, and Thomas Lancaster, all of whom have been the subject of much academic study.<sup>25</sup> Studies on Archbishop Scrope and Thomas Lancaster, whose cults were prevalent in the fifteenth century, conclude that unofficial cults could remain popular for a long time. Maddicott argued that Lancaster, who died in the early fourteenth century, was venerated until the Reformation.<sup>26</sup> McKenna asserted that Lancaster's popularity was predominantly due to his own political stance. He concluded that saints who opposed the crown often gained much favour amongst the laity and their unofficial canonisation by popular demand could be highly effective at creating a successful cult.<sup>27</sup>

Valente undertook a detailed analysis of the cult of Simon de Montfort, the sixth earl of Leicester, who led a rebellion against Henry III in 1263. She found that de Montfort's popularity was sustained through popular veneration, which outlived the initial political cause for the cult's proliferation. Valente subsequently criticised Theilman for disregarding the effect of de Montfort's support amongst his closest followers, who successfully promoted his reputation for generations.<sup>28</sup> In 1323, King Edward II was entertained in Yorkshire by women singing songs about the unofficial saint, highlighting de Montfort's popularity over half a century after his death.<sup>29</sup> Valente argued that de Montfort's cult did ultimately fade quite quickly, but only due to constant suppression from Church and Crown. Even the monks of Evesham, who were guardians of de Montfort's shrine fail to mention the saint in their own chronicle, possibly due to fear of reprisals from the Crown.<sup>30</sup> Valente advocated caution when making broad generalisations and highlighted the need for analysing each saint as a

---

<sup>22</sup> McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda', p.608.

<sup>23</sup> See McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda'; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*; Valente, 'Simon de Montfort'; J. Thielmann, 'Political canonization', pp. 241-266.

<sup>24</sup> Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.48-49; J. Thielmann, 'Political canonization', pp. 249-250.

<sup>25</sup> For example, see Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*; McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda'; Valente, 'Simon de Montfort'.

<sup>26</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, p.329.

<sup>27</sup> McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda', p.608-609.

<sup>28</sup> Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.29-30.

<sup>29</sup> Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.42-45.

<sup>30</sup> Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.42-45.

separate entity.<sup>31</sup> Not all cults suffered from such direct and unceasing suppression, and so the case of de Montfort is not representative of all unofficial saints, many of whom both Church and Crown tolerated. It is therefore plausible that without constant suppression, an unofficial cult could be left to grow. Perhaps Lincoln Cathedral's saints' cults were neither assisted by papal recognition nor threatened by suppression.

The lives and cults of unofficial saints have received much scholarly attention to understand their role in bridging the gap between supply and demand. Chronicles on unofficial saints' lives and evidence of miracles still exist but there is a distinct lack of quantifiable evidence to determine the levels of patronage and veneration that unofficial saints received from the laity.<sup>32</sup> The papacy, Church, or Crown suppressed or outlawed certain cults and so there is very little surviving shrine account evidence. A lack of evidence means it is often difficult to estimate the popularity of unofficial saints with lay pilgrims.<sup>33</sup> The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter provide an opportunity for a new interpretation of ceremonial gift-giving as they reveal pilgrim attitudes towards the shrines of those unofficial saints who were not adorned with papal recognition of their sanctity. For the first time, it is possible to determine the actual levels of pilgrimage to shrines of unofficial saints, which furthers current understanding on the longevity of unofficial cults.

This current thesis challenges the assumption that saints without papal recognition soon disappeared from popular memory and thought. The unofficial saints at Lincoln Cathedral remained a lucrative source of revenue throughout the fourteenth century. A lack of papal recognition did not deter generations of pilgrims from donating offerings to the shrines of Robert Grosseteste, Little Saint Hugh, and Bishop Remigius. On the contrary, the common fund evidence suggests that local institutions played a significant role in encouraging and promoting cults, perhaps in the hope of acquiring papal recognition in the future. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's backing and support for their unofficial saints was thus more crucial to the longevity of lay support than papal recommendation.

The Chapter's support for unofficial saints served both spiritual and financial functions. Its promotion of cults continued to attract a high volume of pilgrims to shrines. Pilgrims brought both monetary donations and provided the opportunity for an unofficial saint to perform miraculous intercession to demonstrate their saintly powers, which may have furthered a larger goal to secure canonisation. Unofficial saints were not destined to be quickly forgotten and overlooked. They could equal the

---

<sup>31</sup> Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.42-45.

<sup>32</sup> See J.O. Halliwell, (ed.), *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the barons' wars: the miracles of Simon de Montfort*, (Camden: The Camden Society, 1840); R. Howlett, (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889-89); H.T. Riley, (ed.), *William Rishanger, Chronicon et Annales*, (London : PP-47, 1865).

<sup>33</sup> The cult of Simon de Montfort was recurrently suppressed. See Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.45-46.

reverence seen at official saints' shrines. The chapter concludes that throughout the fourteenth century, unofficial saints continued to be popular amongst the laity and clergymen of Lincoln. The support for saints without canonisation in Lincoln is perhaps most highly apparent in the case of Robert Grosseteste, for whom canonisation petitions and evidence of miracles still survive. His continued patronage was upheld by the genuine and firm-held belief that his virtuous disposition and heroic political stance against the corruption of the papacy and abuses of the clergymen ensured he was worthy and deserving of saintly status.<sup>34</sup>

### *The Pilgrim and the Unofficial Saint.*

There is much evidence within the common fund accounts that Lincoln's unofficial saints received high levels of veneration centuries after their deaths. To demonstrate their sustained popularity, the first stage in this study is to highlight that the common fund evidence exclusively refers to the legacies and veneration of unofficial saints. The research, using evidence from both Lincoln's official and unofficial saints, then seeks to develop an understanding of the relationship between pilgrims and unofficial saints through evidence of gift-exchange in the common fund accounts. It uses pilgrim gift-giving practices to explore the perceived financial and spiritual value of a reciprocal contract with the unofficial saints of Little Saint Hugh, Bishop Remigius, and, most importantly, Robert Grosseteste in comparison to that of Saint Hugh of Avalon.<sup>35</sup> It is possible to estimate and analyse the volume of pilgrims venerating Lincoln's unofficial saints in comparison to the canonised Saint Hugh and to determine trends over the course of the fourteenth century. The results reveal that the unofficial saints could equal the veneration seen at the shrines of Saint Hugh. The laity did not necessarily regard papal authority as decisive on the issue of sanctity and instead followed local or regional influence and trends.

Many shrines have detailed accounting records dating as far back as the 1100s.<sup>36</sup> To a degree, all shrines should be viewed as separate institutions, whose wealth was governed by mutually exclusive factors; primarily the individual saint's popularity. Accounts suggest the extent to which a religious institution was dependent upon pilgrimage to maintain financial stability and the changing popularity of individual saints. However, analysis of a couple of shrines reveals little about national pilgrim

---

<sup>34</sup> Vauchez, for example, suggests that Grosseteste's conflicts with the papacy were perhaps the main reason that he failed to secure canonisation. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p.71. See B. Tierney, 'Grosseteste and the theory of Papal Sovereignty', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1955), pp.1-17.

<sup>35</sup> For more on their lives see: D.H. Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln*, (1985); R.M. Loomis, (ed.), *Gerald of Wales: The Life of Saint Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200*, (London: Garland Publishing, 1985); G. Perry, *The Life of Saint Hugh of Avalon*, (Darton: Longman and Todd, 1879); D. Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067-1092*, (Lincoln: The Honeywood Press, 1992); J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*; H. Thurston, *The Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln: Translated from the French Carthusian Life and Edited with Large Additions*, (London: Burns and Oates, 1898).

<sup>36</sup> For example, see 'St Thomas Becket: oblations to the four stations connected to the cult of St Thomas at Canterbury', in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.211-215.

trends. As the previous chapter demonstrated, scholars, such as Nilson and Finucane have attempted to estimate the long-term trends of pilgrimage via a comparison and an amalgamation of all documented shrines.<sup>37</sup> Whilst these studies have much merit, it is important to acknowledge that a period of prosperity for one shrine may have coincided with a time of stagnation or decline for another. Separately, each shrine account is a valuable resource to highlight peaks and troughs in the popularity of a particular cult. Combined accounts can further knowledge of more national trends.

Previously, research on the revenue generated by the shrines of Lincoln's saints has centred on the shrine of Saint Hugh from the mid-1330s to the Reformation using Saint Hugh's aperture accounts, which exist separately to the common fund.<sup>38</sup> These documents record offerings left at the shrines of the official saint alone. They made necessary payments to maintain the shrine, such as wax and stipends to sacristans, before the remainder was then distributed equally amongst the resident canons. This data is detailed, precise, and continuous but only represents one saint found at the Cathedral. Nilson's seminal study on cathedrals and their shrines has looked in detail at this data in comparison with similar records originating from other shrines across the country. His conclusions, evaluated in the preceding chapter, make important contributions to this field but do not acknowledge the wealth of data relating to the donations to the unofficial saints at Lincoln, which is recorded throughout the common fund accounts. The common fund account data are even more useful to a study on sanctity in the fourteenth century as they exist almost continuously between 1304 and 1386. The continued veneration of unofficial saints at Lincoln suggests that unofficial saints could play a significant and durable role in pilgrimage. Their lack of papal approval did not necessarily deter pilgrims seeking their intercession through gift-exchange. The common fund accounts thus offer a unique insight into the level of pilgrimage to unofficial saints' shrines, which has previously been widely overlooked due to a lack of evidence. A study of Lincoln's saints reveals the significance of unofficial saints in the imagination of the laity. The research calls for a reassessment of the importance of papal recognition on declaring an individual's claim to sanctity.

The preceding chapter explored the prevalence of ceremonial gift-exchange in the fourteenth century through pilgrims' gifts to saints, either in coin, kind, or veneration. The laity partook in ritualised gift-giving, seeking a reciprocal relationship with deceased individuals, who were deemed to be enriched with miraculous powers. The pilgrim's gift aimed to create a contract with the saint, whom they hoped would feel obliged to reciprocate and provide intercession in the form of a miracle, the removal of sin, or an awareness of their piety and generosity. This practice suggests that bonds established through ceremonial gift-giving were not restricted to the realm of the living and could

---

<sup>37</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp.193-194; B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.92-117.

<sup>38</sup> See Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.158-160.

transcend into the realm of the dead. The current chapter extends this analysis to focus more exclusively on the relationship between Church, pilgrim, and unofficial saint. It concludes that unofficial saints were deemed worthy of veneration and had the potential to generate durable cults if there was little active opposition from the papacy and continued support from an institution, such as the Cathedral. The laity still attempted to engage unofficial saints in a reciprocal relationship, which they hoped would result in miracles or divine intervention.

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the aperture records within the common fund indicate that shrines were lucrative assets. They were the second most prosperous form of revenue for the Cathedral Chapter. Levels of shrine income can also further current understanding of the role of unofficial saints in the fourteenth century in shaping pilgrim trends and behaviour. Initially, the accounting practices within the accounts presented some difficulties. The accounts do not explicitly state which specific shrines fell under the jurisdiction of the common fund. Only the dates of the openings were stated and not the names of the individual saints. This could be problematic when attempting to compare the revenue generated through pilgrimage at the shrines of Lincoln's unofficial saints with the shrine of Saint Hugh of Avalon, Lincoln Cathedral's only officially recognised saint. The common fund is a neat copy of several tributary accounts, so it is possible that they include the aperture accounts of Saint Hugh. If Saint Hugh was incorporated within the common fund records, then it would be impossible to determine with any certainty the extent of his popularity in comparison to those saints without papal recognition. However, an evaluation of the common fund accounts and Saint Hugh's aperture records suggests that the common fund is likely to only include the unofficial saints of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop Remigius, and Little Saint Hugh. It is likely that the Chapter counted the shrines of Saint Hugh of Avalon and Bishop Dalderby, whose cult emerged after his death in 1320, separately.

From 1334, when surviving evidence begins, Saint Hugh's shrine averaged an annual income of approximately £35 throughout the fourteenth century.<sup>39</sup> After this date, the shrine revenue was definitely recorded in a separate aperture account. His shrine's surplus was equally divided between the resident canons and was never incorporated into the common fund. In 1320, a document found in the *Liber Niger*, a book which contains centuries of Cathedral statutes, indicates that there were considerable changes to accounting procedures to maintain Lincoln's shrines. The 1320 statute highlights that the shrine of Saint Hugh was responsible for substantial payments, which pertained to far more than just the expenditure needed to maintain the shrine. For example, the statute stipulated that the grammar school master should receive 5s. a year from the proceeds of Hugh's shrine. Saint

---

<sup>39</sup> See 'Aperturae at Lincoln, offerings to the shrine of St Hugh', in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.222-226.

Hugh's offerings were also responsible for purchasing the wax and wine, and for paying the officials of other shrines, including the sacrist for the shrine of Robert Grosseteste.<sup>40</sup> From 1320, expenditure on wine, wax, and cloth for shrines no longer appeared in the common fund and the accounts' scribe no longer noted any deductions, which were explored in Chapter Three. The change in practice in recording the Cathedral's shrines was likely prompted by the observation and complaint that shrine offerings were depleting due to the dampening of man's piety and the chilling of men's devotions.<sup>41</sup> The Chapter's fear that shrine revenue was falling from 1320 explains this sudden need to reassess accounting procedure. By placing sole responsibility for shrine maintenance on the offerings left at the shrine of Saint Hugh, the revenue recorded in the common fund increased.

A comparison between Hugh's aperture records and the shrine revenue located in the common fund accounts suggests that the reorganisation in 1320 did not involve removing Saint Hugh's shrine from the common fund. If the offerings left at Saint Hugh's shrine had been withdrawn from the common fund, then there should have been a sudden decrease in the level of donations recorded in the accounts. Evidence of a decline in the volume of offerings would perhaps have been particularly noticeable on the Saint Lucy opening, which was the closest opening after the anniversary of Saint Hugh's death on the 16 November and therefore a popular time for veneration. Offerings recorded on this date remained stable in 1320 and did not decline, which suggests that Hugh's shrine was not suddenly removed from the common fund.

Venables argued that the feast of Saint Denis would have been the most likely date for the shrines of Saint Hugh to be opened due to the feast of his translation occurring on the same day.<sup>42</sup> The opening on Saint Denis in the common fund did receive high volumes of coin, approximately £34 a year, but this was probably due to the death of Robert Grosseteste and the impact of the anniversary of his death on pilgrim trends. The Saint Denis offerings do not decline in the 1330s, when Saint Hugh's shrine had separate aperture accounts and was therefore definitely recorded separately. The earliest surviving accounts for Saint Hugh in the 1330s indicate that the Saint received donations of approximately £12-15 on the feast of his translation. It would then be expected that the offerings recorded at the feast of Saint Denis in the common fund would have plummeted by a similar amount

---

<sup>40</sup> 'Liber Niger', in Bradshaw, H., & C. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1892), p.336.

<sup>41</sup> *Memorandum, quod cum frigescente hominum deuocione, erga ecclesiam et sanctos dei operantibus eciam ad hoc huius seculi aduersitatibus et pressuris que indies augmentantur oblaciones ad caput et feretrum gloriosi confessoris beati hugonis, ac tumbam beati Roberti in ecclesia Lincoln, que soluent fieri habundanter, in tantum essent diminute, quod ad distribuciones fieri consuetas Canonicis, vicariis, et aliis Ministris dicte ecclesie minime sufficere potuerunt. Utpote que vix se extendebant ad terciam partem illius quod solebant; Unde euenit, quod distribuciones huiusmodi, tam Canonicis, quam vicariis et ceteris Ministris predictis totaliter subtrahebantur*, Liber Niger in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Statutes*, p.335.

<sup>42</sup> E. Venables, 'The Shrine and Head of Saint Hugh', *Archaeological Journal*, 50 (1893), pp.37-61.

if revenue from Saint Hugh's shrines was removed. The accounts do not testify to such a decline. Hugh was always recorded separately and is thus not represented in the early fourteenth century common fund data. It can therefore be concluded that the common fund only includes the shrines of the Cathedral's unofficial saints. Officials recorded and collected donations from the shrines of Saint Hugh separately from the shrines within the common fund, which facilitates a comparative study on the popularity of official and unofficial saints at Lincoln Cathedral.

Using similar logic, it can be argued that the shrine of Bishop John Dalderby, who died in January 1320, was also excluded from the common fund. Reports of miracles and the fact that Lincoln Cathedral Chapter were quick to build a monument dedicated to the late bishop suggest that pilgrim commemoration almost immediately followed his death.<sup>43</sup> If Dalderby was included within the common fund evidence, then there should have been a sudden increase in the level of offerings collected on the opening following the anniversary of his death. His January death would have had an effect on the offerings recorded in the March aperture. The fact that there was no increase in the volume of coin donated suggests that he was also accounted for separately. It is plausible that the Chapter decided to record Dalderby's offerings separately in the years immediately after his death to monitor the level of pilgrims and to strengthen a possible canonisation attempt. It is also possible that any offerings were initially being spent on the construction of his monument or saved in preparation to fund petitions to the pope. The common fund accounts therefore only include the shrines of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop Remigius, and Little Saint Hugh.

After establishing which shrines were included within the common fund account data, the practice within the accounts of only recording the date of the opening and not the corresponding shrine remains problematic. It was not made clear whether all shrines were opened and accounted for on each opening, or whether individual shrines had specific dates on which to be emptied and collected. This had to be ascertained before it was possible to decipher whether an analysis of the fluctuations within the course of the year reflected seasonal variation, or one saint's popularity over another. If shrines had designated opening dates, it would suggest that an analysis of yearly trends would reveal the overall popularity of the different saints rather than seasonal fluctuations. For example, high volumes recorded in a June opening would not testify to high pilgrim numbers in the summer month but that the saint whose shrine was opened was popular. It is possible that pilgrims were more likely to venture to the Cathedral during the autumn, but their offering, and therefore presence, was only recorded in the summer. Understanding when each shrine was opened and counted also benefits an

---

<sup>43</sup> For detailed account of the canonisation process of Dalderby, see R. Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of John Dalderby Bishop of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaconries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester*, 35.1 (1915), pp.243-276.

analysis of whether any individual unofficial saint could rival Saint Hugh in terms of support and patronage amongst the visiting pilgrims. It was therefore necessary to evaluate shrine accounting practices in order to determine the date when each shrine was opened, and their donations counted.

The opening of the shrine of Saint Hugh was recorded biannually, which indicates it is likely that the sacrists of Lincoln's unofficial shrines had similar practices.<sup>44</sup> However, it is more likely that the unofficial saints at Lincoln were all opened on every specified feast day. There is much evidence to suggest that the practices of recording Lincoln's unofficial saints differed to those existing elsewhere. Firstly, if each saint had a specific date upon which its shrine was opened, it is plausible that the scribe would have made note of this. It is likely that the recording official would have explicitly named the individual shrine opened, rather than emphasising the day of the opening. If each shrine had specific collection days, it is possible that the accounts would have recorded the name of the shrine, alongside the date. For example, instead of stating £34 on the feast of Saint Denis, it might have read £34 at the shrine of Robert Grosseteste. Naming the specific location of the donations was the practice throughout the common fund for recording coins left at altars. Secondly, the dates in which the shrines were opened suggest that they were selected for convenience and practicality. The openings of shrine collection boxes were evenly spaced throughout the year. If each shrine had a specific day to be counted, on a date relevant to the saint's life, it would have distorted the spread of aperture dates. With the exception of Robert Grosseteste, whose death coincides with the feast of Saint Denis, there is no obvious connection between the saints and the apertures. The distribution of openings testifies to the officials waiting long enough for the shrine boxes to accrue a sufficient volume of offerings to make accounting for a collection worthwhile.

A comparison between the unofficial shrines in the common fund accounts and the aperture accounts of Saint Hugh suggests that the unofficial saints had the potential to match the revenue generated by shrines of saints with papal recognition. Unfortunately, the data do not coincide for any length of time until the 1360s. During this period, the shrine of Saint Hugh received an average of £53 a year. Comparatively, the unofficial saints earned a combined total of £190, or an average of £63 each if it is assumed that they saw equal veneration. They were a lucrative asset, in spite of their lack of papal recognition. This is made clear in Figure One, which highlights the significantly higher values recorded at the unofficial shrines in the 1360s, where data for Saint Hugh and the unofficial saints overlap. This evidence also indicates the longevity of unofficial cults. The unofficial saints had died over a hundred years previous but the rise in offerings in the wake of the Black Death testifies to the stability of their popular following. Their popularity throughout the fourteenth century does not

---

<sup>44</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.158.



support the theory that the financial prospects of a shrine were severely diminished when the saint had not received formal canonisation. Although the practice to account for all saints on all openings means that it is more complex to directly compare individual saints with Saint Hugh, trends in seasonal fluctuations suggest that it is highly likely that Robert Grosseteste alone generated higher levels of donations from visiting pilgrims than the official Saint Hugh. His unofficial status did not significantly prevent a durable relationship between saint and pilgrim throughout the fourteenth century.

As part of an analysis on seasonal variation, it is possible to identify the influence of individual saints on annual cyclical trends. Figure Two shows the five-year averages of the level of offerings at each opening. Pentecost was significantly the most profitable time of year, seeing an average of over £56 a year donated to the shrines of the unofficial saints at Lincoln Cathedral between 1304 and 1386. This sum is substantially higher than the next highest average of £21 collected at the feast of Saint Denis in October, which suggests a strong correlation between pilgrimage and Pentecost.<sup>45</sup> That £21 average, counted in October, still presents a sizeable peak in the shrine data each year. The October opening coincided with the anniversary of Robert Grosseteste's death and was consistently the second most lucrative opening throughout the first half of the fourteenth century. Figure Two indicates that a high proportion of pilgrims ventured to Lincoln Cathedral in the weeks directly preceding the anniversary of Grosseteste's death. It was not just that his shrine accrued substantial funds over the course of the year but that an influx of pilgrims arrived at the Cathedral in the build-up to a symbolically important date.<sup>46</sup> The occurrence of miracles, which Dalderby had examined in 1307, highlights Grosseteste's popularity and the strength of his legacy amongst Lincoln's pilgrims in the early fourteenth century.<sup>47</sup> The accounts therefore not only attest to the profitability of the unofficial saints, but the dominance of Robert Grosseteste as a great financial asset, regardless of his unofficial status.

As Figure Two demonstrates, Robert Grosseteste remained highly popular a century after his death. The peak at the feast of Saint Denis was significantly high in the 1350s and 1360s. Grosseteste's popularity, demonstrated by the anniversary of his death influencing the annual cyclical pilgrim trends, suggests that he received more than an equal share of the £63 donated to the common fund. It is highly likely that he attracted more donations than the official Saint Hugh. When reaching Lincoln Cathedral, pilgrims were presented with a choice. They could offer a donation and venerate the recognised Saint Hugh of Avalon or pray and donate at the shrines of Lincoln Cathedral's

---

<sup>45</sup> This pattern is discussed in more depth in Chapter Three.

<sup>46</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, it is likely that the harvest also had an impact on influencing trends here.

<sup>47</sup> Dioc/Reg/2 3 f.113r.

unofficial saints, who had not been given official status as a saint. The peak is, however, at an all-time low towards the turn of the fifteenth century in the 1380s. The trends in gift-giving and veneration at the shrines of unofficial saints at Lincoln are strikingly similar to the national trends in pilgrimage, which Nilson identified in his study on cathedral shrines.<sup>48</sup> The number of pilgrims venerating the unofficial saints at Lincoln only declined when the level of pilgrimage more generally was decreasing. Therefore, there is little difference between the relationship between the laity and official and unofficial saints.

The high volumes of coin recorded within the common fund suggest that many pilgrims chose to venerate Grosseteste, and in so doing, attempted to establish a reciprocal relationship with an unofficial saint. Lincoln's unofficial saints, then, received similar, or even increased, levels of patronage to the official Saint Hugh. Combined, they were a lucrative asset, and their cults saw considerable longevity. Ceremonial gift-exchange to those saints without papal recognition fulfilled the same function for Lincoln's pilgrims in the fourteenth century as giving to those officially canonised. Pilgrims believed that they were engaging unofficial saints in a reciprocal obligation whereby saints would provide intercession in return for veneration. Lincoln's pilgrims did not regard the unofficial saints as lesser and saw value in the creation of a reciprocal bond. The strong relationship between pilgrim and unofficial saint at Lincoln has implications for understanding the role of papal recognition and authority. The high level of donations to unofficial saints instead indicates that local support was sufficient to ensure a cult's longevity. Perhaps Lincoln's pilgrims were more concerned with or influenced by the promotion of saints from canons and local clergymen, which provided an alternative to papal recognition.

---

<sup>48</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp.168-172.

Figure One: Unofficial Saints and the Shrines of Saint Hugh.

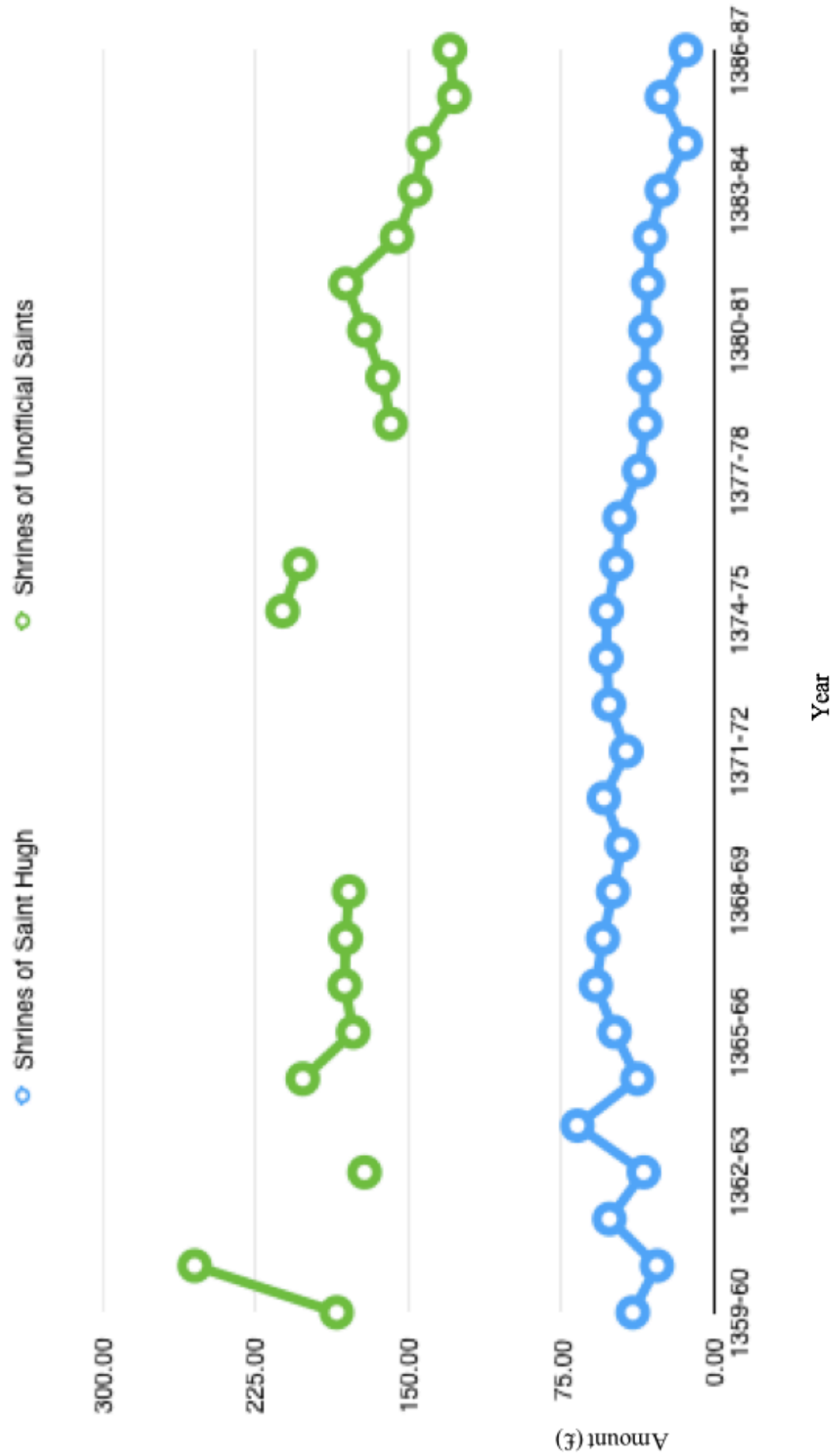
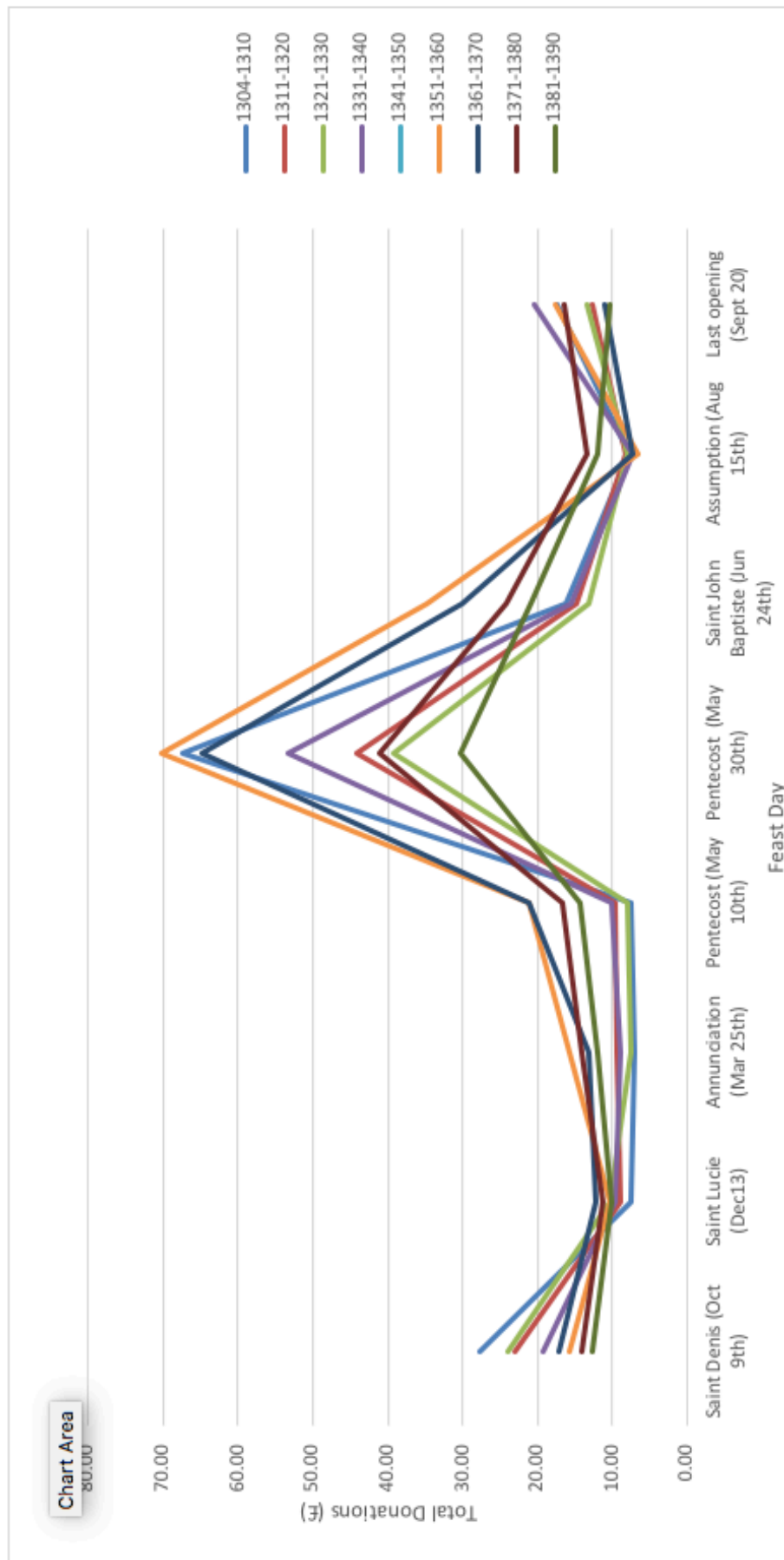


Figure Two: Five-year averages of the volume of coin left at the unofficial shrines.



Other expenditure and evidence in the Chapter acts supports and perhaps explains the dominance of Robert Grosseteste because it demonstrates that the canons most fervently and actively upheld his cult and legacy. The following analysis discusses the role of Lincoln's Chapter and bishop in determining the longevity of Lincoln's saints' cult. It finds that unofficial saints had the potential to establish long-term cults as long as they did not face constant suppression from powerful members of the Church or Crown.<sup>49</sup> The tolerance afforded to the unofficial saints at Lincoln allowed the bishops and Chapter of the Cathedral to openly support and promote their shrines and legacies. The common fund accounts offer insight into the tenacity of canonisation campaigns and highlight the pivotal role of local institutions in promoting saints and encouraging veneration from the laity. Canonisation was clearly preferred but it did not determine the existence of a cult. Even if a lack of papal recognition restricted the geographical scope of a cult, the unofficial saints at Lincoln proved highly lucrative and only declined alongside the national trends of official saints.

In the early fourteenth century, the Chapter petitioned the papacy concerning the sanctity of two deceased bishops: Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) and John Dalderby (d.1320). Grosseteste had already been the subject of canonisation attempts led by Bishop Oliver Sutton in the thirteenth century, but Bishop Dalderby and the Chapter tried a final time in 1307 to convince the pope of his sanctity. Dalderby himself was then the focus of a canonisation petition in the late 1320s. Such petitions were extremely costly for the supporters or postulators of a saint's claim. Vauchez noted the measures the Bishop of Bath and Wells took in 1327, when he levied a tenth from the revenues of his ecclesiastical benefice to fund a claim to sanctity on behalf of his predecessor William March.<sup>50</sup> The petition was only the beginning of the process, which became increasingly expensive if a trial was launched. Postulators were obliged to provide commissioners with hospitality, pay the fees of any notaries, and offer gifts to influential people. If the campaign was successful, a supporter incurred further expense through hosting lavish celebratory banquets and festivities.<sup>51</sup>

An evaluation of the common fund accounts reveals the tenacity of canonisation campaigns in the fourteenth century. The common fund suggests that the efforts to attain canonisation for both Robert Grosseteste and John Dalderby were extensive. However, attempts to persuade the pope to launch an enquiry were not tenacious enough to suggest that successive bishops and their canons felt that canonisation was an absolute necessity to secure veneration from pilgrims. The financial and spiritual gains attached to saints and their legacies were not strictly tied to papal recognition. The Chapter's

---

<sup>49</sup> Valente supports the possibility of durable unofficial saint cults in Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.42-45.

<sup>50</sup> Vauchez *Sainthood*, p.64.

<sup>51</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p.65.

efforts, found within the common fund and Chapter acts, suggest that canonisation was a bonus but not essential. Local support for unofficial saints could outlive campaigns for canonisation. A saint's unofficial status did not necessarily deter pilgrims from veneration, which suggests that the pope's authority was not necessarily absolute on the issue of sainthood. Popular demand for saints and their miracles took precedence over official recognition. Pilgrims offered their gifts and donations to saints who were consistently promoted and supported at local levels. Only when local support faded away, did pilgrim numbers decline.

The Chapter acts, which record the minutes from Chapter meetings, can deepen an analysis of the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral. Both records survive almost continuously throughout the fourteenth century. Comparable data from both the Chapter's meetings and its financial accounts make Lincoln Cathedral unique. Used in conjunction, the Chapter acts, and the common fund reveal the actual cost of the issues discussed and the Chapter's decisions during their meetings, which were held every couple of months.<sup>52</sup> In 1307, both the common fund and the Chapter acts provide evidence concerning attempts to secure canonisation for Robert Grosseteste. The issue was discussed in Chapter meetings and then funds were allocated to finance the decisions from the common fund.<sup>53</sup> A reassessment of the records suggests that the attempts made by Lincoln Cathedral to persuade the Roman Court to launch an enquiry into Grosseteste's sanctity have been exaggerated.<sup>54</sup> There is some evidence to indicate that measures were taken in the early fourteenth century to bolster the campaign, but ultimately Lincoln Cathedral's canons and bishops conceded papal recognition was unlikely and settled for promoting his legacy within their own diocese.

Grosseteste was a renowned bishop, philosopher, theologian, and administrator, with a highly political public life. He was regarded as a defender of the Church from corruption and stood against the perceived abuses of clergymen and the Roman court.<sup>55</sup> His image was also used in at least one political uprising and in opposition to the Crown. Philippa Hoskin highlighted that the Disinherited, who were Simon de Montfort's most fervent supporters, invoked the image of 'Saint Robert', undoubtedly Robert Grosseteste, as part of their declaration of defiance in the aftermath of the de Montfort Rebellion. They declared that they had no need for repentance and had put their trust in

---

<sup>52</sup> A comparison of the records has the potential to further current understanding on the workings of a secular cathedral, the full scope of which is too large to be discussed here and hopes to form the basis of a future study.

<sup>53</sup> FL/Transcripts/J/33 p.25 'Concessit quod quamdiu R de K prosequeretur canonizationem domini Roberti Rabeat omnia commoda residence ac si resideret.' Bi/2/4 f.16 'Item in una strepa cum zona ad portandus plures litteras Capituli et aliorum magnatum ad Curia Roman pro Decanatus iii d ob quadrans'.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, R.E.G. Cole., 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaconries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester*, 35.1 (1915), pp.1-28.

<sup>55</sup> See D.A.P. Callus, 'The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste', *Oxonesia*, 10 (1945), pp.42-72; J.C. Russell, 'Some notes on the career of Robert Grosseteste', *Harvard Theological Review*, 48 (1955), pp.197-211; J.P. Cunningham, *Robert Grosseteste, his thought and impact*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012).

Saints Richard Wich, Edmund of Abingdon and Robert Grosseteste.<sup>56</sup> The support of the Disinherited for Grosseteste was, however, not deemed severe enough to warrant continued suppression of his cult. Unlike the monks at Evesham, who refrained from actively promoting the shrine of de Montfort, the canons at Lincoln, and Grosseteste's supporters further afield, continued to promote his sanctity.<sup>57</sup> He was not solely a political saint, whose image could be invoked to suit particular political agendas, but secured a sustained and popular cult and following, which lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

The ability of Grosseteste's cult to avoid suppression allowed his supporters to freely and openly encourage veneration at his shrine and therefore to uphold his saintly status. His political reputation was perhaps a prime reason for both his popularity amongst pilgrims and his ultimate failure to secure recognition for sanctity from the pope. Successive canonisation attempts failed to encourage the pope to launch an enquiry, the first stage of the process. Cole analysed the letters and petitions pertaining to the campaign and argued that the Chapter and multiple bishops at Lincoln fervently pursued Grosseteste's canonisation.<sup>58</sup> Some evidence for the campaign is found within the common fund accounts but it largely contradicts Cole's findings. Instead, it suggests that the bishop and Chapter of Lincoln ultimately accepted that Grosseteste's was an unofficial saint and continued to support and promote his sanctity without papal approval. When efforts to secure his canonisation were not successful, the Chapter did not persevere with recurrent costly petitions and instead continued to promote Grosseteste's unofficial legacy within the Lincoln diocese.

The common fund accounts and Chapter acts highlight that official legitimation was desirable, and worth considerable expense, but the Chapter refrained from launching a campaign to secure canonisation at any cost. Abandoning a campaign did not mean the abandonment of the cult. Canons continued to promote cults locally. This is inferred through the multiple expense entries pertaining to the Cathedral Chapter's efforts to petition the pope. The Chapter and successive bishops aimed to secure canonisation for both Robert Grosseteste and John Dalderby, but their efforts ultimately proved futile. The failure to convince the papacy of their sanctity did not deter the Chapter from actively encouraging widespread devotion from the laity in the form of indulgences. The Chapter believed Grosseteste and Dalderby to be worthy of veneration and deserving recipients of pilgrims' offerings and devotion. The level of donations to unofficial saints in the common fund suggests that the gifts offered to the shrine of Robert Grosseteste only declined in the late fourteenth century when

---

<sup>56</sup> P. Hoskin, 'Holy Bishops and Political Exiles: St Richard's cult and political protest in the late thirteenth century' (2009).

<sup>57</sup> Valente, 'Simon de Montfort', pp.42-45.

<sup>58</sup> Cole., 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of Robert Grosseteste', pp.1-28.

local support fell, and pilgrimage trends declined on a national scale.<sup>59</sup> The attitudes of local clergymen and their teachings were more influential on pilgrim behaviour than papal authority.

Particularly for Robert Grosseteste, the Cathedral Chapter undertook multiple campaigns, with no real guarantee that they would be of long-term financial benefit. The Chapter may have believed that official recognition would augment shrine revenue or secure the saint's popularity for a longer period of time, thus presenting a worthwhile investment. Due to a lack of surviving evidence, the revenue generated at Dalderby's shrine remains unknown. It is plausible that the Dalderby shrine saw high levels of patronage as his more recent death in 1320 would have made him more likely to perform miracles. It is possible that factors other than financial gain made canonisation appealing. Perhaps the spiritual gain of possessing the remains of officially canonised saints was worth considerable expense.

Veneration at Grosseteste's tomb began immediately after his death in 1253 and reports of miracles soon followed.<sup>60</sup> A petition to the pope was made in 1286 when the bishop, dean, and Chapter of Lincoln collected over twenty-eight letters of support. Canon Stephen Tawell was sent to Rome in the summer of 1288 with these letters but returned unsuccessful.<sup>61</sup> With renewed hope after securing the support of the Chancellor of Oxford University and King Edward I, and the newly elected Pope Clement V, Bishop Dalderby once more sought to attain papal recognition of Grosseteste's saintly status in the early fourteenth century.<sup>62</sup> King Edward I's wardrobe accounts highlight that the King made a donation to 'blessed Robert' in 1304. The fact that the king chose Grosseteste over the official Saint Hugh demonstrates his support for the cause.<sup>63</sup> Supporters of a saint's claim usually made repeated attempts to secure canonisation. Often the papacy demanded multiple petitions at several intervals to ensure a cult was established and sustained and would not quickly fade from popular thought. Vauchez noted the case of William Donjeon, a Cistercian and Archbishop of Bruges in the early thirteenth century. Only with the third petition did the papacy launch an enquiry into his sanctity.<sup>64</sup> It is likely that continued veneration at Grosseteste's shrine and increased support from

---

<sup>59</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p.168-172.

<sup>60</sup> Mathew Paris noted that Grosseteste's death had stirred up the other saints, who performed an increased number of miracles. One example of a miracle reported to have been the result of Grosseteste's intercession was the capture of a five-foot sturgeon found in the river Trent in 1255. See H.R. Luard, *Burton Annales Monastici, volume I* (London, Longman, 1869), p.336.

<sup>61</sup> E.W. Kemp, 'The Attempted Canonisation of Robert Grosseteste', in D.A. Callus, *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.245.

<sup>62</sup> See Callus, *Robert Grosseteste*, and R. Cole., 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of Robert Grosseteste'. For a closer analysis on the personal affiliation between Dalderby and his predecessor Grosseteste see R.E.G. Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of John Dalderby Bishop of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaconries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester*, 35.1, (1915). pp.243-276.

<sup>63</sup> E 161/33/21/3/11.

<sup>64</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p.67.



high-profile individuals in the early fourteenth century afforded Dalderby and the Chapter of Lincoln some optimism.

The Chapter's meeting minutes and contemporary accounts suggest that in the opening decade of the fourteenth century, Bishop John Dalderby was the driving force behind the canonisation campaign of Robert Grosseteste. John Schalby, a resident canon at Lincoln in the early fourteenth century who held the prebend of Dunham and Newport in 1306, wrote in his memoirs that the bishop, dean, and Chapter wrote repeatedly to the Apostolic See with testimonies of Robert Grosseteste's miracles.<sup>65</sup> Regular audits demonstrate that the bishop was clearly concerned with the financial wellbeing and stability of his institution. However, unlike the Chapter's resident canons, who received an equal portion of profits from shrines, a recognised saint would have been of no personal financial benefit to the bishop. He may have been concerned for the financial health of this institution, but it is also plausible that he was motivated by more than monetary gain. Canonisation was perhaps more a matter of spiritual significance. Dalderby's leading role suggests that canonisation campaigns were driven by more than the desire to increase revenue. Institutional prestige and pride was at stake.

The common fund expenses for the financial year 1305-1306 suggest that the Chapter was making concerted efforts to advance Bishop Grosseteste's claim to sanctity. The first indication that the Chapter was supporting this campaign financially is found under the subheading *Curialitates*, which dealt with legal expenses and gifts to officials. Under this heading, the Chapter regularly made payments to bribe sheriffs presiding over courts to act favourably regarding Chapter business and paid attorneys sent to London to work on its behalf in legal cases.<sup>66</sup> In 1305-1306, the Chapter gave money to two papal nuncios who were crossing the country on the feast of Saint James.<sup>67</sup> Kathleen Major debated whether the sum was intended as a gift or a bribe, and possibly connected to the

---

<sup>65</sup> 'Et licet decanus et capitulum Lincolnensis pro canonizatione eiusdem Sedi Apostolice scripserint vicibus repetitis, muniti literis regularibus et procerum regni tam clericorum quam laicorum, miracula ad invocationem Dei ob merita dici viri fatta testificantibus, una cum vita et conversazione eiusdem, in nullo ante confectionem praesentis tractatus, qua de causa Deus novità, profilare potuerunt' John de Schalby, 'Martilogium' in J.S. Brewer & J.F. Dimock, (eds.) *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, (Rolls Series) viii, (London: Longman, Green, 1861), p.205.

<sup>66</sup> In the early years of the fourteenth century, multiple cases involving the Knights Templar of Temple Bruer received such bribes from Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. For example, Item vic. Lincoln ut esset favorabilis Capitulo in suis agendis contra Templarios de Bruero et in negocio de Bottenesford in inquisitione capienda xl s. bi 2/4 f.14.

<sup>67</sup> Item in Curialitates facta duobus Nunciis domini pape facientibus transitum per villam in festo sancti Jacobi apostoli xx s pro Alexandro le Boteler. Bi/2/4 f.15.

The ambiguous wording of this entry could suggest that the expenditure covered providing hospitality to the nuncios. After stipulating the amount of 20s., the clerk writes 'pro Alexandre le Boteler'. This name appears each year in the accounts under the subheading *feoda* in the expenses section. He is paid 40 shillings per year alongside other cathedral officials. He name is not included in the *Fasti Anglicanae*, which proves he was not a deigned canon. Other entries in which Alexandre appears, suggest he held some level of responsibility in the cathedral and was trusted to carry out certain tasks, such as bringing a horse to Lincoln from the Boston Market in 1306. Bi/2/4 f.18r It is plausible that this payment was to reimburse Alexandre for providing hospitality for the nuncios during their visit.

downfall of the Templars.<sup>68</sup> There was a strong community of Templars in Lincoln inhabiting Temple Bruer, which could explain the presence of the nuncios in Lincoln. However, this episode is arguably a little too early to be linked to the trial of the Templars, which took place in England in 1309.<sup>69</sup> The Chapter did offer gifts to the nuncios responsible for the Templar inquiry in 1309, which cost 40s.<sup>70</sup>

The names of the nuncios were not given, which raises further questions about their mission. A plausible explanation is that this expenditure was intended to further the canonisation campaign of Robert Grosseteste. Although it is also arguably too early in 1306 for the unnamed nuncios to be either Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, the papal chaplain William de Testa, and William Durand, Bishop of Mende, who were tasked with holding an enquiry into the sanctity of Thomas Cantilupe, former bishop of Hereford by Pope Clement V in 1307, the papal nuncios may have been collecting evidence in preparation for this trial. Much of the enquiry was held in either London or Hereford, but there had been numerous reports of miraculous cures at Hambledon, Cantilupe's birthplace in the diocese of Lincoln, highlighting the popularity of this shrine as a destination for pilgrims.<sup>71</sup> The nuncios may have been required to investigate these miracles as part of Cantilupe's trial. This provided the opportunity for two of the papal nuncios to be present at Lincoln at this time. A further £4 was gifted to the same nuncios three weeks later, on the feast of the Assumption, potentially marking their departure from the diocese.<sup>72</sup> This is a substantial sum, and likely to have been motivated by more than an expression of goodwill or piety. It is possible that the gifts were intended to bribe the nuncios to encourage the pope to look favourably upon Grosseteste's case.<sup>73</sup> The Chapter aimed to profit from the nuncio's visit to the diocese and use their presence as an opportunity to advance Robert Grosseteste's claim to sainthood.

More compelling evidence is found under the *curialitates* subheading in 1305-1306. In support of John Schalby's assertion that the Chapter regularly petitioned the papacy, a small expense is recorded

---

<sup>68</sup> See K. Major, 'The Finances of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century: A preliminary survey', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, (1952), pp.149-167.

<sup>69</sup> For more information on the trial, see H. Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308-11*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2011).

<sup>70</sup> Bi/2/4 f.55

<sup>71</sup> R.C. Finucane, 'Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their 'miracles'', in M. Jancey, (ed.) *St Thomas of Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Cathedral Publications Committee, 1982), p.142.

<sup>72</sup> Item duobus Nunciis domini papae sollempnioribus in festo Assumptionis Beate Marie Bi/2/4 f.16.

<sup>73</sup> Another payment was also made to papal nuncio William de Testa in September, who was later responsible for Cantilupe's canonisation trial. This sum of £7 represents the first levy of the Papal Annates, declared in 1306. Pope Clement instructed all religious houses to pay to compensate the mother church, which had been 'assailed by many troubles and shaken by storms...[and] undertook such heavy and great burdens of expenses.' William de Testa was responsible for collecting this tax from English institutions. See W.E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues of the Middle Ages*, (New York, 1934). Item in solution facta Magistro Willelmo de Testa Nuncio Domini papae pro procuratoribus viginti quatuor ecclesiam pro mora sua in curialitate et diocesis Lincoln in festo Sancti Gregori Papae Bi/2/4 f.15.

for the cost of a stirrup with a belt in order to carry several letters from Lincoln Chapter and other great men to the papal court.<sup>74</sup> The mention of ‘other great men’ is perhaps the greatest clue that this expense relates to Robert Grosseteste due to Bishop Dalderby and the Chapter securing further outside support from the king and chancellor of Oxford University in 1305. It is almost certainly a reference to the canonisation attempt of Grosseteste. The canon John Schalby’s memoirs used similar wording to state that great men sent letters to Rome in support of Grosseteste’s canonisation.<sup>75</sup>

Further indications that the Chapter was actively seeking papal approval and an enquiry into the life of Robert Grosseteste are found under the subheading *Custos Domorum et ecclesiarum*. This section notes the expense of any repairs to churches, houses, or farm buildings that the Chapter owned. Under the *Custos Domorum* section in 1305-1306, the Chapter commissioned the making of a new Great Seal. The accounts state that the seal was made in London with a manufacturing cost of 26s. 8d. The silver used cost the Chapter a further 12s. 6d. Interestingly, the Chapter also made a payment of 18d. to the manufacturer to ensure that the seal was produced quickly.<sup>76</sup> Alongside the gifts to messengers and letters sent to the papacy, the commissioning of a new seal suggests that Cathedral officials aimed to improve their chances of securing a canonisation trial by using a brand new and pristine seal to close the letters. The additional information instructing the manufacturer to be prompt implies an urgent need: in this case, so that they could send the petitions to the pope without delay.<sup>77</sup> These expenses recorded in the common fund accounts highlight that it was within the Chapter’s jurisdiction to finance this canonisation campaign. Such gifts and payments were not the sole responsibility of Bishop Dalderby, who had previously been the driving force in pursuing canonisation.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Item in una strepa cum Zona ad portandus plures litteras Capituli et aliorum magnatum ad Curia Roman pro Decanatus iiii d ob quadrans Bi/2/4 f.16.

<sup>75</sup> J.H. Sawley, (trans.), ‘J. de Schalby: The Bishop of Lincoln and their Acts’, *Lincoln Minster Pamphlets*, (1949).

<sup>76</sup> Item in factione magni sigilli apud London xxvi s viii d Item in argento ad dictam sigilli xii s vi d et in curialitate facta facienti dictam sigilli ut magis se festinaret xviii d bi/2/4 f.16.

<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, so far, it is impossible to locate more evidence relating to the production of this previously unknown seal as no imprint exists. W.G. Birch’s catalogue of seals does not include this specimen. The catalogue does include Bishop Dalderby’s seal which was commissioned in 1305. The wording in the Common Fund Accounts suggest that it was a re-make of the chapter’s great seal but it is possible that it is actually a reference to Dalderby’s. See W.G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, Volume I*, (1887). The Chapter Acts also do not include any mention of the making of a new seal. The 1150 matrix survives in the Lincolnshire Archives. No known example bear fragments of a seal in the early fourteenth century. In the later fourteenth century, seals have identical pattern to existing matrix.

<sup>78</sup> An alternative argument is that the money and letters were intended to further the mission of canon Gocelin of Kirmington, who was currently at the papal court. Kirmington had been elected as Dean of the Cathedral in September 1305, but the pope had ignored the election and replaced him with his nephew Raymund de Got. This unpopular decision was met with much protest on behalf of the canons of Lincoln Cathedral, whose efforts to encourage the pope to repeal the decision can be seen in the Chapter Acts. Kirmington went to Rome, funded by the fruits of manor of Bottesford. If he was successful, he was to be provided with a more liberal contribution. Although this could suggest why the chapter sent letters to Rome, it does not provide an explanation as to why other great men were included. This indicates the letters were in reference to the canonisation process. J. de Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, (London: Diana E. Greenway, 1964).

Cole and Kemp argued that one of the Chapter's most significant measures was to send a canon, Robert of Killingworth, to the Roman Court in 1307. Evidence for this originates from the Chapter acts, which made these provisions on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1307.<sup>79</sup> Killingworth, who held the prebend of Liddington, was to be provided with expenses for his journey and was entitled to class the year as part of his great residency at the Cathedral, which alleviated a great financial burden as he was no longer required to pay fines for his prebend that year. Killingworth, settled his debts for late rents with the Chapter in 1306, and is found amongst the names of the resident canons in 1306-1307.<sup>80</sup> The fact that his name appears amongst the resident canons suggests that the Chapter was honouring the offer of residency in return for Killingworth undertaking a journey to the papal court. Cole and Kemp argued that Killingworth's journey emphasises the persistence of the bishop, dean, and Chapter in securing a successful campaign.

However, the common fund accounts cast doubt on whether Killingworth's journey actually took place. There were no expenses designated to support him on this journey and there is no mention of a canon setting out for Rome in Dalderby's register.<sup>81</sup> Such a journey was an expensive undertaking and Killingworth would have needed funds for food, shelter, and transport. The following year, Killingworth did undertake a journey to London on behalf of the Chapter, for which he was given enough money to cover expenses.<sup>82</sup> If the canon had undertaken the journey to Rome, it is likely that evidence of the trip would be apparent in records of the Chapter's expenditure. Furthermore, the Chapter acts suggest that Killingworth was already undertaking his great residence at the Cathedral in 1307 because he was present at numerous Chapter meetings throughout the year.<sup>83</sup> His name appearing in the list of resident canons in 1306-1307 is therefore to be expected and not indicative of the journey to the papal court actually taking place. The only sustained period of time in which his name is missing from the list of meeting attendees is for six weeks.<sup>84</sup> Six weeks was probably not sufficient time to travel to Rome, put a case before the pope, and return. In addition, John Schalby, who noted the frequent letters written to the papal court, did not include any details about this expedition to Rome.<sup>85</sup> There is thus no definitive evidence that Killingworth's journey took place.

---

<sup>79</sup> Robert de Kivelingwrth expressly agreed to start for the apostolic see and there to prosecute the canonisation of St Robert and in gratitude for this promise of the Chapter granted that as long as he was so engaged he should have all advantages as though he were personally resident. See FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 p.25.

<sup>80</sup> Bi/2/4 f.39r.

<sup>81</sup> Dalderby's register does include details of other canons or officials embarking to Rome on Chapter business. Henry Janitor, for example, set out for Rome in the 1310s. Dioc/Reg/2, f.115r.

<sup>82</sup> Bi/2/4 f.37.

<sup>83</sup> The acts also record a dispute in 1307 between R. de Kinellingworth and Thomas Goldesburgh over the houses which formally belonged to Master H. de Nassington. Robert was personally present, so houses were assigned to him as he had the fuller right as he was actually and personally in his residences. FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33.

<sup>84</sup> He is present in July 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>, September 20<sup>th</sup>, and November 7<sup>th</sup>. He was not present in the meeting held on September 3<sup>rd</sup>. See FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 pp.26-31.

<sup>85</sup> J.H. Srawley, (trans.), 'J. de Schalby: The Bishop of Lincoln and their Acts', *Lincoln Minster Pamphlets*, (1949).

Perhaps plans for the trip were never carried out; possibly as a result of logistical problems, unsuitable weather conditions, or financial expense.

It is plausible that the emergence of new evidence to support Grosseteste's claim to sanctity delayed plans to petition the papacy. In April 1307, Bishop Dalderby ordered the master of the Gilbertine monks and the prior of Sempringham at Saint Katherine's Priory in Lincoln to examine the witnesses and miracles ascribed to Robert Grosseteste.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps new miracles were deemed worthy of close attention and so Killingworth's journey was postponed until new evidence could be analysed and incorporated into the petition, which then never took place. Such enquiries would take time but were perhaps deemed essential to support the cause. The occurrence of miracles also highlight the fact that Grosseteste saw continued veneration in the fourteenth century and that the Cathedral's officials and Lincoln's pilgrims still deemed him to possess curative powers.

Dalderby's was the last known attempt to secure Grosseteste's canonisation, which suggests that officials accepted that papal recognition was unlikely. The failure of the canonisation campaign did not end Dalderby's promotion of the shrine as a recognised pilgrim destination. In 1314, he granted an indulgence for forty days to all worshippers at Grosseteste's tomb.<sup>87</sup> Such a decision was arguably because Dalderby hoped to petition Rome again and was encouraging veneration to inspire further miracles. Sixty years after a death was not a period typically associated with increased intercession. No important event was taking place, and the bicentennial anniversary of Grosseteste's death had been ten years earlier. Dalderby continued exploiting Grosseteste's popular following and sought to secure and augment his reputation and position in the Church, regardless of papal recognition. The former bishop still held considerable value to the Cathedral despite his unofficial status.

In comparison to the extensive evidence found within the common fund relating to Grosseteste's canonisation, there is very little sign that the Chapter financed the campaign for Dalderby's canonisation following his death in 1320. Despite a lack of financial evidence, letters and reports of miracles show that the Chapter went to considerable lengths to achieve canonisation for Dalderby, a process that has been closely examined by Cole.<sup>88</sup> It was not until 1327 that the proper measures were put in place, giving the Chapter much time to gather evidence and support from important men. A thin volume of twenty-one folios of parchment containing fifty letters and other documents was

---

<sup>86</sup> Dioc/Reg/2 3 f.113r.

<sup>87</sup> Cole, 'Canonisation of Robert Grosseteste', p.5.

<sup>88</sup> See Cole, 'Canonisation of John Dalderby', pp.243-276. p.5; John Schalby reports many miracles in his *Martilogium*. One example is Robert of Normanton who swallowed a bone a finger's length and thumb's breadth that was causing him great pain. As soon as he vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to the late bishop's tomb, straight away he vomited out the bone and recovered to his former health. See 'Martilogium', pp.193-216. Such cases of miracles prove that veneration at Dalderby's tomb was commonplace and thus highlights that evidence of increased offerings should have appeared in the accounts if they did include this new potential saint.

passed to the papacy in 1329.<sup>89</sup> This was more than double the number of letters sent in support of Grosseteste's claim. In addition, reports of Dalderby's miracles were routinely circulated as part of his festal day, at which twelve miraculous cases were celebrated.<sup>90</sup> As was the case for Grosseteste's campaign, the numerous instances of miracles suggest that the Cathedral Chapter were promoting Dalderby's cult to the laity despite it having received no papal recognition.

The Cathedral Chapter did not pursue sustained campaigns for the canonisation of either Grosseteste in 1307 or Dalderby in the 1320s. Except for sending letters, the Chapter seemingly accepted that the papacy was not prepared to launch enquiries or validate the campaigns. The campaign to secure canonisation for Dalderby appears particularly short-lived, with only one known attempt in the late 1320s. Failed canonisation attempts, however, clearly did not deter the local promotion of cults. Although formal canonisation would have advertised the cult on anniversaries and feast days, popular fervour is more indicative of a saint's legacy. Lincoln's unofficial saints generated sums to rival those of formally recognised saints. The high volume of coin collected at the unofficial shrines testifies to a long-term spiritual affinity between saints and laity. Papal recognition was thus of spiritual rather than financial value, as cathedrals sought validation to demonstrate that they housed the remains of a true saint. Perhaps pilgrims were largely unaware of the need for papal recognition and were simply continuing to fulfil a religious compulsion. Ultimately the demand for saints, which during this period outstripped the supply, ensured that focus fell on those not formally canonised.

The evidence of canonisation attempts found within the common fund accounts suggest that the Chapter had a significant role in financing petitions. The Chapter and bishops worked together to promote the claim of deceased saintly prelates. A closer analysis on the campaigns to canonise Grosseteste and Dalderby at Lincoln corroborates Vauchez's conclusion that fourteenth-century prelates never contested the principle of pontifical reservation to validate saintly status but seem to have done little to stem the growing tide of popular devotion. The Cathedral's officials were aware of the benefit that pilgrimage and veneration would bring to their institution.<sup>91</sup> The fact that bishops at Lincoln continued to encourage veneration of unofficial saints suggests that papal recognition was not a necessity. Although it was most probably desirable, and supporters felt compelled to at least attempt to secure official legitimation of a cult, a failed outcome did not condemn or destroy an unofficial saint's ability to attract veneration. For members of the laity and clergy alike, papal authority and autonomy on the creation of saints was somewhat ignored. If the pope was not

---

<sup>89</sup> R.E.G. Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of John Dalderby Bishop of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaconaries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester*, 35.1 (1915), pp.243-276.

<sup>90</sup> Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of John Dalderby Bishop of Lincoln', pp.243-276.

<sup>91</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p.93.

forthcoming with recognising deserving candidates, and there was no active suppression from the Crown, then cults developed outside the direct control of the Roman Church.

### *Conclusion*

Unofficial saints were considerable financial assets to religious institutions like Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. Despite the lack of papal recommendation, the laity still offered donations and venerated Lincoln Cathedral's unofficial saints. Combined, the unofficial saints at Lincoln generated far more revenue than the shrines of Saint Hugh of Avalon. It is also entirely plausible that the unofficial saints, or at least Robert Grosseteste alone, received greater levels of veneration than the official Saint Hugh. The Cathedral Chapter and bishops made several attempts to secure papal recognition for Robert Grosseteste (until 1307) and John Dalderby (in the late 1320s). The attempts suggest official legitimisation was desirable as Cathedral officials sought recognition through the proper channels. However, they do not appear to have spent an excessive proportion of the Cathedral's resources on such petitions. The accounts and Chapter acts suggest that the Chapter and bishops were largely satisfied with unofficial legacies and continued to promote cults locally outside the pope's direct control. The continued veneration of Lincoln's unofficial saints, coupled with successive attempts to canonise saintly bishops, suggests that official recognition was largely a concern for the Church. The laity was ignorant of papal authority on the creation of new saints and instead listened to local elite figures and clergy, or perhaps each other. The level of offerings generated at shrines highlights that unofficial saints' cults remained popular, centuries after their deaths. With continuous support and promotion from the Cathedral Chapter and the local Church, the relationship between pilgrim and unofficial saint could flourish. Popular veneration outlived the Chapter's canonisation attempts and only declined alongside national trends.

The laity does not appear to have disregarded the unofficial saints at Lincoln in favour of Saint Hugh. Pilgrims offered gifts of prayer, veneration, and offerings in coin and kind regardless of the saints' official status. The pilgrim's ceremonial gift aimed to establish similar social bonds with saints that they deemed holy due to the encouragement of their own local Church, seeking miracles, intercession, and divine favour from those without papal confirmation. Ceremonial gift-giving worked to establish a network and a reciprocal relationship between the pilgrim, the Cathedral Church, and holy saint. A cathedral provided the pilgrim with access to the saint and provided the saint with veneration and commemoration. Saints brought financial gain and institutional prestige to cathedrals whilst offering the pilgrims opportunities for redemption, recognition, and intercession. A second reciprocal bond developed between pilgrim, saint, and God where the saint acted as an intermediary. In return for veneration and monetary offerings, the saint would encourage God to provide miraculous cures or act

favourably in the interests of the pilgrim. Saints offered access to God, which could best be secured through ceremonial gift-giving practices. The high values of offerings recorded within the common fund accounts suggest that unofficial status did not weaken the demand for such coveted reciprocal networks.



## Chapter Five: The role of the Gift at Lincoln Cathedral: a social and economic perspective of gift-giving practices in the fourteenth century

Just as the Cathedral Chapter was a beneficiary, so too was it a benefactor. Acts of generosity, to both the poor and powerful alike, facilitated the development of desirable social networks between canons and laity. This chapter evaluates the levels, type, and purpose of gifts that the Chapter offered to those outside its walls. This analysis furthers understanding of secular cathedrals' obligations to support the poor and the role of gifts in cementing relationships with the outside world. Gifts and acts of philanthropy were considered an important use of the Chapter's resources and were primarily designed to secure favourable alliances. Gift-giving obligations remained a constant form of Chapter spending but there is a demonstrable correlation between the frequency of gifts and the economic stability of the institution. This analysis explores the role of economic security and reciprocity in the Cathedral Chapter's motivations and decisions to offer gifts. Analysis of the Chapter's gift-giving practices alongside the wider economy highlights a distinct hierarchy in the types of alliances. Establishing and developing worldly networks was desirable but maintaining divine relationships was crucial.

Gifts to senior and important figures, including bishops, papal legates, and the king, enabled the Cathedral Chapter to advance its own social and spiritual standing. These high-status recipients were often involved in ongoing disputes or had significant secular influence. The resident canons appear to have made some risky decisions concerning their gift-giving practices. Some of the Chapter's decisions may have angered powerful members of the elite, which could have jeopardised more alliances than it aimed to establish. At times, they offered lavish presents to those in dispute with the king or to those with the power to determine and influence the outcomes of important contemporary issues, such as the fate of the Knights Templar.<sup>1</sup> The gifts found within the common fund accounts indicate that the canons and their officials were aware of the institution's own financial situation when offering donations to members of the elite. The frequency and extent of gift-giving over the fourteenth century suggests that such offerings were viewed as a valuable use of resources, but not obligatory for the proper running of the Cathedral. When the wider economy threatened to diminish the common fund's surplus, a vital component of resident canons' income, the Chapter reduced

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, Bi/2/4 f.68.

expenditure on donations to powerful individuals. The economic wellbeing of the Chapter was of a greater priority than acts of generosity designed to encourage relationships with secular and religious figures.

In comparison to the trends in gifts to powerful figures, donations to the poor remained constant over the course of the fourteenth century. The level of overall revenue and surplus within the common fund had a less decisive impact. However, the majority of instances in which the Chapter offered gifts to the poor cannot be used to explore the canons' philanthropic attitudes. Any evidence of substantial gift-giving to paupers was concerned with the fulfilment of obits and post-mortem services for the Cathedral's benefactors, who predominantly consisted of predeceasing canons. Obits were annual services, usually held on the anniversary of the death of a benefactor. The deceased made certain arrangements in their will for the Cathedral Chapter to commemorate their soul in the hope that they would escape prolonged pains in Purgatory. Obits involved allocating resources to provide wages for a chaplain and would frequently involve the distribution of alms to the poor.<sup>2</sup> The intention was to place an obligation on the recipients of alms to pray for the soul of the deceased and allow them to escape purgatorial suffering. Frequently, the deceased requested for their obits to be held in perpetuity, financed from a portion of their estate allocated to the Cathedral. The Chapter could then profit from the fruits of the allocated land, once obit requirements had been met.<sup>3</sup> The obit evidence suggests that the Cathedral Chapter took a diligent attitude towards their responsibility to fulfil post-mortem requests and had genuine concern for souls in the afterlife. The adherence to such services was clearly important. There were ties between canons, which bound both living and dead. They viewed themselves as a community and brotherhood.

Obits were an administrative responsibility and obligation. Aside from these payments, the Cathedral Chapter offered very little in alms to support local paupers within the diocese. The scant evidence of philanthropy within the accounts suggests that any aid offered directly between Chapter and pauper was not sufficient to relieve suffering nor poverty. As an institution, the Chapter failed to make a concerted effort to improve the conditions of the poor. This suggests that philanthropy was largely an individual act. The lack of giving to the poor directly from the common fund demonstrates that, as a collective body, canons did not stand to

---

<sup>2</sup> C. Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead": wills and pious provision in late medieval Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, (1987), pp. 837-858; D. Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore"? Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in C.M. Barron, & C. Burgess, (eds.), 'Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England' *Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium*, (2010), pp.58-74.

<sup>3</sup> Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead", pp. 837-858; Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore"?', pp.58-74.

gain spiritual benefits if aid was distributed from the common fund. Only an individual donor could cleanse their soul of sin through charity. Individual donations on behalf of the canons have left no trace in the evidence and so it remains to be tested whether they were individually philanthropic. The levels of almsgiving within the common fund suggest that the Church was largely successful in encouraging members of the laity to offer philanthropy. At least on their deathbed, benefactors requested that the Chapter distribute significant sums in poor relief. The Chapter, through their role as an intermediary, no doubt had an effect on ameliorating the lives of the poor. However, this was not necessarily due to the institution's concern for the welfare of the diocese's poorest residents. The Chapter as a collective were not a charitable body. Instead, philanthropy was considered to be a private and personal affair with the majority of almsgiving within the accounts the result of donations from individuals.

The common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter present multiple examples of Lincoln Cathedral's gifts. They record the specific amounts the Chapter donated and spent, and so reveal the canons' true actions rather than their theoretical intentions. The amount of money spent on gifts can be placed within the context of the Cathedral's economic position in the fourteenth century. The accounts run continuously, with only a few breaks in the data between 1304 and 1386, which allows for a detailed understanding of how gift-giving changed over the course of the period alongside wider economic and social trends. In conjunction with the common fund evidence, the Chapter acts, and Cathedral statutes are used to explore the Chapter's decisions to make certain expenditure, and to reveal more generally how gift-giving functioned in a large religious institution. Various socio-economic shocks, such as famine, bullion crises and plague, had their effects on the pull of reciprocity. In accordance with modern theories on the economy and charity, some social and economic upheavals led to a decline in gift-giving as the institution sought to protect its own finances, but others brought a stronger compulsion to behave philanthropically.<sup>4</sup> This final chapter is divided into three sections. The first explores the existing historiography on religious institutions, the economy and gift-giving practices. The second identifies the recipients of the Chapter's gifts and evaluates the relationships between benefactor and beneficiary. The final section then determines the effects of wider socio-economic trends on the Chapter's decisions and ability to offer gifts and establish alliances with the outside world.

---

<sup>4</sup> C.M. Douty, 'Disasters and Charity: some aspects of cooperative behavior', *The American Economic Review*, 62.4 (1972), pp. 580-590.

### *Formal Charitable Giving and the Church: A historiographical approach*

The existence and nature of charitable giving in the Middle Ages has frequently proved a contentious topic. The following exploration of the existing historiography of medieval philanthropy identifies three key debates. The first surrounds the efficacy of informal approaches to charitable giving in the centuries before the Elizabethan Poor Laws. There is disagreement concerning whether a lack of formalised laws automatically testified to widespread neglect of the poor. Where some studies argue that poor relief was left to chance, others found philanthropy and charitable behaviour throughout many medieval communities and institutions, largely as a result of Church teachings and encouragement.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, the historiography highlights a debate surrounding the role of the Church as a benefactor. There is currently no consensus on whether the Church generously offered alms or was more concerned with the symbolism of charitable giving.<sup>6</sup> A final discussion emerging from current studies is whether there was a demonstrable or notable correlation between economic climate and charitable provisions. Connected to this discussion, are theories concerning a change in attitudes towards the poor throughout the fourteenth century as a consequence of socio-economic upheavals. Any trends in donor behaviour in the latter half of the century could be the result of shifts in the perception of poverty, rather than changes in the financial position of the benefactor.<sup>7</sup>

From the twentieth century onwards, there has been much historiographical debate surrounding the propagation and instruction of charitable giving before the Elizabethan poor laws were introduced in the late sixteenth century. A theory which initially gathered much credence, particularly amongst early modern scholars, promoted a fundamental nonexistence of formal attitudes towards philanthropy in the Middle Ages. Under this interpretation, all credit for the introduction of a formalised national concern for the wellbeing and welfare of the country's

---

<sup>5</sup> For example, see R.H. Helmholz, *Oxford History of the Laws of England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); M. McIntosh, 'Poverty, Charity, and Coercion in Elizabethan England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35.3 (2005), pp.457-479; B. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

<sup>6</sup> See C. Dyer, 'Poverty and its Relief in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 216 (2012), pp.41-78; D. Lepine, 'Cathedrals and Charity: Almsgiving at English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', *English Historical Review*, 126 (2011), pp.1066-1096.

<sup>7</sup> See M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) for an analysis of charitable provisions in a changing economy. For more on a shift in attitudes towards the poor. See M. Moisa, "Fourteenth Century Preachers' Views of the Poor: Class or status group?", in R. Samuel & G. Stedman-Jones, *Culture, Ideology and Politics*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1982), pp.160-175; B. Tierney, 'The Decretists and the "Deserving Poor"', *Comparative studies in society and history* 1.4 (1959), pp.360-373.

poorest residents was attributed to the late Elizabethan era. Such an interpretation asserts the importance of the enactment of Tudor Statutes of Charitable Uses on instigating the law on English charity. These statutes of 1597 and 1601 are heralded as the founding blocks of modern philanthropic attitudes. Accordingly, charity in the medieval period was characterised as a purely private and spiritual matter, in which donations were uncertain, regulation sporadic, and enforcement ineffective. Scholars perceived medieval charitable attitudes as highly informal, which encouraged the interpretation that medieval society was unsympathetic and self-concerned. Supporters of the theory assert that the Elizabethan poor laws were born out of the inability of medieval charitable behaviour to successfully combat poverty.<sup>8</sup> It was a lack of any formal philanthropic attitudes in the Middle Ages that propagated the initial need for the poor laws.

Such a theory rightly underlines the statutes' important contribution to charity law and their position as a leading piece of legislation to protect the poor. The introduction of statutes suggests the inefficacy of leaving poverty relief to chance and relying on individual acts of benevolence. There is no explicit indication in Brundage's two studies of Medieval Canon Law to suggest that charity was at the forefront of canonists' agendas.<sup>9</sup> This omission of any formal teaching implies that students of Canon Law should conclude that the medieval period possessed no text that could serve as a point of departure for the creation of a law on charity. There exists no book nor title dealing expressly with charity in either Gratian's *Decretum* (1140) or in the *Decretals* (1234); two renowned collections of Canon Law. However, perhaps an emphasis on the sole importance of organised and ritualised charity is misplaced. Although the statutes were a triumph to regulate charitable behaviour, they may not reflect a shift in the general attitudes or the nature of philanthropy. A sole reliance on statutes could discount the occurrence of philanthropic behaviour encouraged by the Church, which was responsible for

---

<sup>8</sup> See G.H. Jones, *History of the Law of Charity: 1532-1827*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). Recent references to the beginnings of English charity are cited in the introduction to many works looking at philanthropy in the early-modern world. Studies negate the existence of charity in the Middle Ages by emphasising the significance of Elizabethan poor laws. Examples include R. Dyson, 'Welfare Provisions in Oxford During the Latter Stages of The Old Poor Law, 1800-1834', *The Historical Journal*, 52.4 (2009), pp.943-962; N.L. Kunze, 'The Origins of Social Legislation: The Henrican Poor Law of 1536', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 3.1 (1971), pp.9-20; M. McIntosh, 'Poverty, Charity, and Coercion in Elizabethan England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35.3 (2005), pp.457-479.

<sup>9</sup> See J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1995); J.A. Brundage, *The Profession and Practice of Medieval Canon Law*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 2004).

widely promoting and disseminating the importance of charitable activity. The influence of teachings and the doctrine of Purgatory prompted a reassessment of current leading theories.<sup>10</sup>

Scholarship on medieval charitable activity has since recognised the relevance of medieval Canon Law and religious instruction in instigating some of the basic principles of charity, even if it did not include formal or regulatory laws.<sup>11</sup> Religious teachings and doctrines were largely responsible for professing a caring attitude towards the least fortunate in society. Famous parables and stories from the Bible explicitly uphold the virtue and honour of a poor man whilst chastising the rich and defaming the greedy in the eyes of God. A prime example is the analogy of the camel passing through the eye of a needle with greater ease than a rich man entering paradise.<sup>12</sup> Ashley noted the significance of the Gospels on contemporary perceptions of poverty and riches. The teaching of the Gospel towards worldly goods has been unmistakeable. It repeatedly warns men against the pursuit of wealth, which would alienate them from the service of God.<sup>13</sup> Ashley added that Christian moralists held largely philosophical views regarding the accumulation of wealth. To seek to enrich oneself incurred a spiritual risk to the soul. The accumulation of wealth was, in itself, unjust because it aimed at appropriating an unfair share of what God had intended for the common use of men.<sup>14</sup> Charitable acts enabled the rich man to right his wrongs.

The Church's stance on poor relief suggests that the individual characteristics of a law of charity were already in place before the Tudor Statutes were enacted. R.H. Helmholz argued that the Tudor statutes evolved from pre-existing ideas on charity, regardless of no explicit overarching governing law. He stated that charitable gifts in last wills and testaments, for example, saw special privileges. Perpetual charitable gifts were enforceable by the ecclesiastical courts, even years after the death of a benefactor. Charitable gifts also did not have to be as specific as other transactions found in wills, which meant a third party had some power to determine where funds intended for pious use were spent. In addition, Church courts ensured that when a charitable gift became impossible to perform, the terms of the gift could be altered, so long as the charitable spirit remained in-tact.<sup>15</sup> Helmholz concluded that favour

---

<sup>10</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.11; For analysis and a detailed consideration of Purgatory see J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

<sup>11</sup> See Helmholz, *Oxford History of the Laws*, pp.390-391.

<sup>12</sup> Matthew 19:23-26; See C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.235.

<sup>13</sup> W. Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, (London: GP Putman, 1925), p.128.

<sup>14</sup> Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History*, p.128.

<sup>15</sup> Helmholz, *Oxford History of the Laws*, pp.390-391.

was shown to charitable gifts, which maintained charity's special place in ecclesiastical courts, despite it having no separate legal category within Canon Law.<sup>16</sup>

The Church promoted charitable giving through the promise of eternal salvation for generous benefactors. Acts of charity were understood as an effective method to reduce time in Purgatory. Miri Rubin's study on charity in medieval Cambridge highlights the extent to which the Church encouraged and supported charitable activity.<sup>17</sup> Sermons and religious instruction regularly reminded the laity of their duties towards the poor. Rubin argued that every Christian writer and preacher upheld charity as the greatest of virtues, without which faith alone was imperfect.<sup>18</sup> The Church's teachings were not designed purely to herald the poor as worthy of charity but to criticise avarice and excessive greed. Vast wealth was deemed acceptable, only if superfluous goods were not hoarded but put to use by virtuous men. Possessions may hinder a bad man but were the source of charity in the hands of a good one.<sup>19</sup>

Other forms of evidence, including wills and gild statutes, suggest charity was commonplace in Medieval England. Evidence of charity is found within many communities and institutions, including gilds and hospitals.<sup>20</sup> There was a clear emphasis on the importance of giving and a clear understanding that the rich must support the poor, even if the Purgatory doctrine ensured donors were largely concerned with their own salvation.<sup>21</sup> The revision has encouraged the 1601 poor laws to be understood as a culmination of older and longstanding attitudes. Rather than denying the existence of philanthropy, scholarship instead turned to debate the efficacy and true motivations of charitable behaviour. A new approach explored whether charity was used as a social tool of the elite to promote a certain favourable self-image or was designed to truly ameliorate the condition of the poor. One main feature of this debate is the influence of the donor's economic position and widely-held perceptions of poverty and the poor. As explored in Chapter Two, acts of philanthropy were not solely designed to improve the situation

---

<sup>16</sup> Helmholz, *Oxford History*, pp.390-391; B. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*; R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>17</sup> M. Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.58.

<sup>18</sup> M. Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.58.

<sup>19</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.84.

<sup>20</sup> See B. McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32.3 (1993), pp.195-225; S. Sweetinburgh, *The role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-Giving and the spiritual economy*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004); C. Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), pp.1-21.

<sup>21</sup> J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The social function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485*, (London, 1972), pp.10-13.

of the poor but to increase the donors' chances of salvation.<sup>22</sup> Concerns with the afterlife must have been high in a medieval person's consciousness. Surrounded by death and disease, it is likely people were motivated to protect and prepare their souls for Purgatory. Arguably, evidence of the Church's concern for the souls of their parishioners is found within their regular and fervent endorsement of charity.

So where did the fourteenth-century Church see their own position within the networks of charitable giving and did they practice what they preached? Scholarship on this topic is diverse as the clergy cannot be represented as a homogenous group. The mendicants and secular clergymen, for example, had varying attitudes and practices to poverty and the poor.<sup>23</sup> A popular theory, supported by Moisa, is built on the premise that the Church's contribution was more symbolic and thus was ineffective against the struggle to relieve poverty. Moisa suggests that providing relief was considered an impossible task.<sup>24</sup> Religious institutions provided enough alms to appear philanthropic but not enough to inhibit their own financial growth or stability. The basis of this theory is that the Church remained extremely wealthy. If they took their obligation to provide sufficient care to the poor seriously, how did they retain such riches whilst poverty remained a consistent aspect of society?<sup>25</sup> Secular clergy defended their position and goods by professing that they were stewards of the poor. Therefore, despite their wealth, the secular clergy argued that they were as poor as the mendicants. Mendicants, however, saw this as a fictitious poverty and cheating the true requirement of churchmen, which made it increasingly difficult for the Church as an institution to give clear definitions as to what was understood by the poor and poverty.<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, as Moisa argued, if a church owned property solely for the benefit of the poor, why not give it to the poor and dis-endow the Church?<sup>27</sup> Dyer agreed, stating that despite all the efforts of the Church to ameliorate the condition of the poor, they were unable to hide their immense wealth.<sup>28</sup> Efforts were ineffective and only likely to serve as symbolic gestures.

---

<sup>22</sup> This is discussed in more depth in Chapter Two. For more information see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*.

<sup>23</sup> Monasteries as institutions had stricter obligations to serve the poor as the monks had no personal possessions and so poor relief had to come from the central funds. Secular clergymen by contrast had the means to distribute alms personally as they were accorded a personal income. Individual wealth reduced the obligation of the Cathedral as an institution to provide alms as arguably the onus fell onto individual canons.

<sup>24</sup> M. Moisa, "Fourteenth Century Preachers", p.164.

<sup>25</sup> M. Moisa, "Fourteenth Century Preachers", p.164.

<sup>26</sup> See Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.239.

<sup>27</sup> Moisa, "Fourteenth Century Preachers", p.164.

<sup>28</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.236.



In contrast, in his comparative study, David Lepine found considerable levels of almsgiving by England's secular cathedrals. His conclusions offered a new interpretation, which challenged Dyer and Moisa's assertion that such institutions did not provide sufficient alms. Amongst other institutional data, Lepine used the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter to conclude that the institution was generous in providing paupers with cloth. He argued that sums could reach in excess of £50 a year to purchase russet cloth to be distributed amongst the poor of the diocese. Such a sum represented almost a quarter of the yearly surplus and so indicates enormous generosity on behalf of the Chapter. On average, Lepine found that the canons at Lincoln gave cloth to the value of £20-£30 each year in the early fourteenth century, and approximately £40 in the 1360s. Elsewhere, however, charitable giving declined from 1350.<sup>29</sup> He argued that cathedrals were important centres of almsgiving and were not therefore deserving of their contemporary criticisms found in poems and chronicles.<sup>30</sup> Lepine noted that such generosity cannot, however, be viewed as entirely altruistic. Acts of charity often coincided with particular feast days, which still suggests that almsgiving carried much symbolic importance. Overall, the study concluded that there were significant almsgiving practices undertaken by secular cathedrals, which can be used to reflect the needs of the local poor. With Lincoln as an exception, Lepine argued that the evidence demonstrates a decrease in charity after the Black Death because standards of living had markedly improved.<sup>31</sup>

A final key discussion in the nature of philanthropy surrounds the role of economic considerations in determining the distribution of charitable provisions. As explored in Chapter Two, several theories concerning the relationship between national and regional economic stability and the levels of charity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have developed, but opinion has been split amongst academics since the 1970s. Scholars debate whether a high level of poor relief reflects heightened disposable income amongst donors or increased need amongst beneficiaries.<sup>32</sup> There is room for more research within the historiography of medieval philanthropy to explore the influence of economic considerations on charity. Thus

---

<sup>29</sup> Lepine, 'Cathedrals and Charity', p.1076.

<sup>30</sup> Lepine, 'Cathedrals and Charity', p.1066.

<sup>31</sup> Lepine 'Cathedrals and Charity', p.1094.

<sup>32</sup> J. Banks & S. Tanner, 'Patterns in Household Giving: Evidence from the UK Data', *International Journal of Voluntary and Non-profit Organisations*, 10 (1999), pp.167-178; K.S. Barrett, 'Panel-Data Estimates of Charitable Giving: A Synthesis of Techniques' Generosity? Evidence for the UK', *Education Economics*, 8 (2000), pp.65-80; R.N. James & D.L. Sharpe, 'The Nature and Causes of the U-Shaped Charitable Giving Profile', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 36 (2007), pp.218-238; J.A. List, 'A Market for Charitable Giving', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25.2 (2011), pp.157-180.

far, it has proven to be a contentious topic, with a few studies finding contrasting results.<sup>33</sup> It is often problematic because the study relies on culminating evidence on average wage rates, philanthropic activity, and widespread economic trends. The availability of continuous evidence and data is therefore a frequent challenge.

The theory supported by Miri Rubin argues in favour of a direct correlation between personal wealth and charitable acts. The logic of this theory is that charity would be more prevalent in prosperous towns and settlements. When leading men declined in fortune, their ability to allocate funds and to undertake charitable acts would have been much impaired.<sup>34</sup> Rubin found that the loss of economic security among groups of merchants, master craftsmen, proprietors, and other burgesses, turned them towards activities that could ensure their income and status. Thus, less value was attributed to securing spiritual salvation.<sup>35</sup> However, while economic factors can determine the ability to give and the need to receive, they cannot guarantee charitable disposition nor prescribe the forms in which relief will be dispensed. Rubin argued that these considerations were largely governed by non-economic, religious, and cultural values.<sup>36</sup> Unfavourable economic conditions and the inability of individuals to offer monetary financial aid were not determinant factors in the charitable disposition of the populous. It remained possible for people to hold benevolent attitudes in poorer areas even if they were unable to contribute financially. It is possible that philanthropic acts became gestures of kindness rather than donations in cash or goods in times of economic insecurity, which have left no trace in surviving records.

The argument to link charity directly to the economy has faced criticism. Some historians find no evidence of any significant correlation between economic stability and gift-giving. Jenny Kermode's analysis of wills over the course of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for example, has shown that a certain level of charity was maintained regardless of trends in the wider economy, which would suggest that charity is governed by social, rather than economic, factors.<sup>37</sup> A theory supporting no link between economic factors and charity

---

<sup>33</sup> See C. Dyer, 'Poverty and its Relief in late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 216 (2012), pp.41-78; C. Dyer, 'Did the Rich Really Help the Poor in Medieval England?', *Ricos y pobros: opulencia y dearragio en al Occidente medieval: acts de la XXXVI semana de estudios medieval*, (Pamplona, 2010), pp.307-322; Lepine 'Cathedrals and Charity', pp.1066-1096; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp.14-53; Moisa, "Fourteenth Century Preachers", pp.160-175.

<sup>34</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.50.

<sup>35</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.52.

<sup>36</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp.14-15.

<sup>37</sup> J. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverly and Hull in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

suggests that almsgiving refuted economic trends and could remain at stable levels throughout the fourteenth century. Limitations of this counter argument include the nature of deathbed giving found in wills. Only wills of the merchants, arguably some of society's wealthiest inhabitants, were included as evidence in Kermode's study, who would arguably have been most able to resist any economic downturns. In addition, acts of charity committed on an individual's deathbed may not reflect true levels of life-time giving. Dying donors may have been more generous and more likely to prioritise their souls over worldly wealth. The theory developed through the use of wills offers no evidence on the daily acts of philanthropy, which arguably were more likely to follow economic trends.

Dyer and Rubin have developed a further theory, connected to economic and social influences, surrounding the trends in the widespread perceptions of poverty and the poor. The premise of this theory is that the economic climate shaped attitudes towards poverty and wealth. The fourteenth century saw a distinct shift in the attitudes towards poor relief and the purpose of charity. The thirteenth and early fourteenth century were characterised by overpopulation and the increased use of marginal land. When an economic climate caused a severe employment shortage, views on beggars and the poor were more sympathetic. The poor were viewed as victims of a socio-economic and political system. Riches were viewed with great suspicion, even by the possessing classes who simultaneously enjoyed and defended their wealth.<sup>38</sup> The Church taught that poverty was neither a vice, nor the product of God's special disfavour. If the poor accepted their poverty, they were in a virtuous holy state created by God, one which not only guaranteed their salvation but provided a vital instrument in the rich man's bid for salvation through charity.<sup>39</sup> During decades of unemployment and little available land, the Church encouraged the laity to offer alms indiscriminately. It was the giving of a gift which held significance in the eyes of God and was thus not for the benefactor to decide who was worthy to receive it.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> See D. Aers, 'Piers Plowman and Problems in Perception of Poverty: a culture in transition', *Leeds Studies in English*, 14, (1983), pp.5.25; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.239; Dyer 'Poverty and its Relief', pp.42-78; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp.49-53.

<sup>39</sup> See Aers, 'Piers Plowman', pp.5.25; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.239; Dyer 'Poverty and its Relief', pp.42-78.

<sup>40</sup> S. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp.49-66; C. Dyer, 'The experience of being poor in late medieval England', A.M. Scott, *Experiences of Poverty in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and France*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), p.20.

As the century progressed and the demand for labour increased, the volume of relief offered to those in need was reliant upon overarching conceptions of who deserved help. Changes in prosperity and the economic climate throughout the fourteenth century ensured that the economic performance of the beneficiary, rather than the benefactor, played a more decisive and influential role in the distribution of alms. When the number of beggars and paupers increased, there was a marked shift in the attitude towards poverty and wealth. Possessions were looked upon more favourably, and consequently, it was no longer glorified nor dignified to live in a poor and humbled state.<sup>41</sup> This change can be witnessed from papal bulls dating from the 1320s. Pope John XXII decreed that property was irrelevant to salvation in the bulls *Ad Conditorem Canonum* (1323), *Cum internonnullis* (1323), *Quia quorondam mentes* (1324) and *Quia vir repobus* (1329). Richard FitzRalph specified in the *Defensio Curatorum* that Christ himself never needed to beg, which suggested that God favoured possessions.<sup>42</sup>

After the Black Death, which afforded more leverage to the labourer, poverty, and not property, was regarded as the product of the fall and sin. The mid to late fourteenth century, which saw the de-sacralisation of poverty, also saw increasing numbers of wandering labourers and paupers who, due to the changing economic circumstances and structures discussed in Chapter One, could travel between rural settlements and towns with greater ease.<sup>43</sup> Suspicion of the poor increased alongside a rise in the demand for labour. Those capable of working, who seemingly chose to beg instead, were villainised and denied alms. It is likely that a rising number of wandering labourers and beggars would have been an inconvenient burden to workers and employers alike, which contributed to a change in attitudes. Benefactors were forced to be more discerning, which suggests that they only truly believed in the power of reciprocity and the ability of gift-giving as a route to salvation if the beneficiary was a worthy recipient.

The theory on the changing perceptions of poverty upholds the importance of a lack of labourers after the Black Death in 1348-1349. Fewer workers meant higher wage rates and more opportunities for labourers to find work as they were granted more bargaining power and greater social freedoms. The unemployed were then held in contempt and deemed lazy and undeserving of relief. Benefactors became suspicious of beggars. The able-bodied poor became

---

<sup>41</sup> W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp.123-124.

<sup>42</sup> Pantin, *The English Church*, pp.123-124.

<sup>43</sup> Aers, 'Piers Plowman', p.9.

to be perceived as idle, lazy and a drain on society. Charity was seen to enable such behaviour and a new focus was to find them employment. This resulted in a distinction between deserving and underserving poor, which influenced the distribution of alms.<sup>44</sup> The view of poverty became more negative and paupers had to prove they were deserving of charity. Relief became more restricted. The theory asserts that the preferred image of a humble and grateful receiver of alms was replaced by the image of a proud and unrepentant beggar.<sup>45</sup> Evidence used to support this theory include the statutes of 1351 and 1388 to limit the movement of workers and legislation to prevent food as charity.<sup>46</sup> Those perceived as deserving of relief were becoming an increasingly smaller group. Commonly only those who temporarily fell on hard times after a long period of respectability were deemed worthy of generous charitable relief.<sup>47</sup> The decisions taken to select the most deserving recipients for philanthropic acts suggests that the state of the individual in need affected the spiritual utility attached to offering aid. There was only a finite supply of charity but an infinite demand. Donors had to be scrupulous and selective when distributing alms.

This research develops the existing historiography to evaluate the purpose of gift-giving in fourteenth-century Lincoln. It determines the position of Lincoln's canons and Chapter towards the poor in the diocese. The volume of gifts given by the Chapter suggests that there were significant efforts to improve the lives of paupers within the diocese. However, symbolism was clearly a higher priority than the actual effects of poor relief. As explored in Chapter Two, charity was more concerned with appearing to do good than the real effects of philanthropy. The following analysis evaluates Lepine's conclusions on the efficacy of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's charitable behaviour and finds that the institution remained highly lucrative regardless of the needs of local paupers. The economic stability and performance of the institution was of paramount importance. Gifts to those outside the Cathedral walls remained valuable throughout the early fourteenth century but were restricted when the Chapter's revenue depleted. Concern for the souls of benefactors and administrative obligations motivated much of the Chapter's gift-giving. The majority of gifts to the poor cannot therefore be used to evaluate the philanthropic actions and attitudes of Lincoln's

---

<sup>44</sup> A.D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1995); Aers, 'Piers Plowman', pp.5-25; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.239; Dyer 'Poverty and its Relief', pp.42-78; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp.49-53.

<sup>45</sup> See Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1995); Aers, 'Piers Plowman', pp.5-25; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.239; Dyer 'Poverty and its Relief', pp.42-78; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp.49-53.

<sup>46</sup> See E.F. Henderson (ed.), *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: Longman Greens & co., 1893), p.165; 'Statute of Labourers, 1349', Statutes of the Realm, volume I, p.307; Statute of Cambridge, 1388 12 Richard II ch.7.

<sup>47</sup> McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity', p.204.

resident canons. The evidence available at Lincoln enables a comprehensive study on the institution's economic position and the levels of gift-giving and philanthropy. There is a correlation between the Chapter's own financial security and the amount of money it was willing to spend on donations to outsiders. The trends in giving suggest that there were two different and distinct types of gifts. These were those to the rich, designed to create worldly alliances, and those to the poor, which were offered out of administrative necessity and concern for souls. The latter were of far more importance to the Cathedral Chapter and could defy national economic trends.

*Lincoln Cathedral and Almsgiving Practices: A Re-assessment of Charity and Obits*

Lepine initially used the common fund accounts to conclude that Lincoln Cathedral Chapter demonstrated exceptional generosity towards the poor, but a re-examination suggests that evidence of poor relief has been misinterpreted.<sup>48</sup> The data used for the analysis, which undoubtedly includes transactions in which the Cathedral purchased cloth to distribute amongst the poor, is perhaps misleading. The evidence does not reveal the Chapter's philanthropic attitudes towards the poor but instead furthers understanding on the functionality and preservation of obits. Obits highlight the reciprocal nature of philanthropy in the Middle Ages. The canons and rich members of the laity left money to the Cathedral in their wills in return for post-mortem services. The Chapter benefitted not only spiritually but financially from the responsibility of fulfilling such wishes but were required to donate a proportion of the proceeds to the poor. The poor completed the cycle by praying for the benefactors' souls in return for the alms received. The compulsion and commitment to reciprocate gifts drove and perpetuated the cycle. Concern for the souls of deceased predecessors, colleagues, and friends motivated the Chapter to offer gifts to the poor. Evidence of the Cathedral Chapter's acts of philanthropy reflect their obligation to fulfil obit requests and their concern for souls in the afterlife, rather than any concerted efforts to relieve poverty.

Evidence of philanthropic giving within the accounts is sporadic, with no set place in the records. The Cathedral Chapter compiled records of their income and expenditure in a logical and ordered manner. Separate sources of revenue and expenditure were evenly spaced throughout the accounts and each given a clear subheading in the margin. However, the section analysed by Lepine, which details the gifts of cloth, bears no subheading and is situated at the

---

<sup>48</sup> Lepine, 'Cathedrals and Charity', pp.1066-1096.

very end of the first round of receipts and expenses each year, after the clerk of the common fund had calculated all expenditure. The section appears underneath the Chapter's workings out of remaining surplus and follows a brief paragraph on late payments collected by the Cathedral Chapter from the obits of deceased canons. Its physical place in the accounts suggests that the payments were concerned with obits and do not denote the Chapter's regular acts of charity. If this section recorded the Chapter's acts of philanthropy and their gifts to the poor, it would have appeared within the main expenditure section and have been given a subheading in a similar manner to other forms of annual spending. Instead, it appears amongst payments collected or paid towards the end of the financial year, during the time that the provost and clerk of the common fund compiled the accounts. The other payments included within the section further indicate that the purpose of spending recorded here was not specifically designed to combat poverty in the diocese. Each year between 1304 and 1386, the section contains a payment of over £16 to fund one chaplain, eleven poor clerks and two other ministers to perform a weekly mass. Such payments seem misplaced within a section aimed to provide for the poor but expected within a subheading recording obit expenses. Chaplains and lesser members of the Cathedral's personnel would have been financed directly from obits to perform commemorative services on specified feast days or anniversaries. Such payments may have been the specific requests of deceased benefactors.

The majority of obit expenditure is found in the first subheading of the expenses section of the accounts each year and equates to an annual average of over £371. The obligation to pay for obits constituted by far the single most costly form of Chapter spending.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, the common fund accounts do not contain any minute detail and only refer to the overall cost of the five obit rolls throughout the financial year, which no longer survive. Obit rolls would have included in more detail the names of benefactors and the instructions left to the Cathedral Chapter to fulfil their post-mortem wishes. It is likely that the expenditure found at the end of the accounts, which Lepine used to evaluate the Cathedral Chapter's philanthropy, instead relate to any necessary payments made to fulfil obit requirements after the compilation of the accounts had begun. Such payments may have occurred late in the financial year for logistical reasons. For example, the accounts stipulate that the Chapter regularly bought their cloth from

---

<sup>49</sup> The second most costly form of expenditure was funding chantries, which cost the Cathedral Chapter approximately £50 each year. The Chapter clearly spent much of their resources offering post-mortem services and saw this as an important obligation. Unfortunately, the chantry evidence is not explored further here as part of this study. There are no details concerning where funds were spent and so it is impossible to determine the level of gift-giving associated with chantry foundation at Lincoln. Their existence does, however, highlight the volumes of money spent on providing post-mortem services for rich benefactors and colleagues.

the markets of Boston and Stowe. Both of these fairs ran throughout August and September when the scribe would already have begun compiling the common fund accounts.<sup>50</sup> The expenditure was therefore recorded directly in the common fund without first appearing in a separate obit roll. The sums within this section cannot reveal the Chapter's attitudes to the poor. They only highlight its role as an intermediary, distributing alms of an individual benefactor who had entrusted the Chapter with the salvation of their soul.

Such a responsibility to care for souls could have proven highly lucrative but unfortunately it remains impossible to determine the levels of revenue the Chapter generated from land or funds allocated to obits. The accounts only explicitly record the substantial cost of obit services to the Chapter each year. With the exception of the brief sum of revenue collected at the end of the first round of expenditure, the accounts do not mention any source of revenue. There is no evidence of the Cathedral accounting for the bulk of obit income anywhere in the accounts. It is highly unlikely that money generated through obits were recorded on the obit rolls, as this would suggest that obit services brought a great annual deficit of over £350. As mentioned above, a common means by which benefactors bequeathed enough money to the Church to support an obit, particularly one which was to run in perpetuity, was to donate a portion of their land. The Church was able to enjoy the proceeds of this gift, on the condition that they fulfilled certain requirements to the benefit of the donor's soul. A distinct lack of a section within the common fund specifically designed to record these sums, suggests that they were incorporated into the *firme* section of the accounts, and treated similarly to the Cathedral's demesne and appropriated churches. This conclusion is largely reinforced through the section entitled *Augmentarie Vicarie* (later re-titled as *Cantarie*), which instructs the payment of chaplains at several of the same villages found in the *firme* section. In other words, at the settlements and villages where the Cathedral made money from land, they were also providing a chaplain, likely in accordance with obit or chantry provisions.<sup>51</sup>

It is worth noting that the later obit revenue and expenditure were never of a similar value. Where the late income from obits equalled an average of £20 a year, the later expenses reached over £50. The Cathedral always spent a much greater sum towards the end of the financial year than they could collect. The large discrepancies in these values indicates that the later expenses were not directly related to the later receipts, and they therefore refer to a larger

---

<sup>50</sup> 'The Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs' *Centre for Metropolitan History*, <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> [accessed 5.01.2018].

<sup>51</sup> For example see Bi/2/5 f.5.



proportion of the obits. Combined with the indication that the income from obits was recorded separately as part of *firme*, the accounts give the impression that the Cathedral saw obits as a collective homogenous group. Officials collected income from the donated land and separately kept records detailing the post-mortem wishes of the benefactors. The Chapter knew how much they were required to spend to fulfil their obligations and commitments towards obits over the course of the year and were not concerned with matching specific revenue from each donor with their individual obit requests. Some officials were responsible for the collection of obit revenue, and others for any incurred expenditure. The high values spent on cloth in the late obit section reinforces the conclusion that the Chapter viewed obits holistically. For example, every year the Chapter purchased 200 ells of canvas cloth, which cost more than 100s. It is unlikely that such a purchase was to fulfil the obit requirements of a single donor and therefore probable that the purchase is a culmination of multiple obits which specified cloth to be bought for a set number of the poor. The Cathedral Chapter were efficient with the money they received from benefactors and grouped many requests together to purchase goods for the poor in bulk.

On occasion, the accounts detail where the volumes of cloth were to be sent and distributed amongst the poor. London, for example, is mentioned frequently. The poor parishioners of Burton, a church with the dependent chapels of Stoke Mandeville, Querendon, and Bockland, were specifically mentioned every year and annually received cloth worth over 30s. In 1266, Burton was given to the Chapter through an agreement made between bishop Richard Gravesend of Lincoln, King Henry III, and rector of Aylesbury who previously held rights to the church and its chapels. In 1315, this agreement was confirmed and a further payment to the king for 50 marks was paid from the common fund as part of the confirmation process.<sup>52</sup> It is plausible that when Burton was granted to Lincoln Cathedral, canons were obliged to honour the charitable requests from any obits attributed to the church and its chapels. The fact that the accounts occasionally specify the location of poor recipients shows that the Cathedral Chapter took obit requests seriously. Canons ensured that specific groups or individuals received donations in accordance with a benefactor's wishes. Despite dealing with obits in bulk, they honoured the specific wishes of the deceased.

---

<sup>52</sup> See Bi/2/4 f.105 Item pro confirmatione domini Regis de Capellis de Burton iuxta Aylesbyrr Querendon Stokes et Bukeland xxx iii libre vi s viii d item in expensis factis per Magistrum T de Langetofte pro sequencis negocia predicta xxxx s x d Item pro auro Regine pro dicto sine Lxvi s viii d.

Unfortunately, the specific wishes of donors remain impossible to ascertain but the Chapter acts offer one example of an obit, which can be used to explore the types of requests involved. Following the death of Nicholas de Hiche, Subdeacon of Old Warden's Rectory in Bedford in 1275, Lincoln Cathedral ordained a chantry to commemorate his soul, which was adjoined to those of William of Lexington and John Widdington.<sup>53</sup> The Chapter acts detail how Nicholas' soul was to be commemorated at the altar of Saint Andrew and a perpetual payment of 6 marks for the maintenance of a chaplain was to be paid from the common fund. The payment consisted of 2 marks at Pentecost, 2 at Michaelmas, and 2 at the Purification. A further 3 marks a year were allocated for the solemn performance of his obit, for which 20s. would be distributed to canons, 1 mark to vicars, 4s. to the poor clerks, 2s. to the choir boys, and a further 8d. to those ringing the bells. Any Clergymen in receipt of payments from the obit had to be present at the service and anyone not properly fulfilling the requirements was to face excommunication - a very serious punishment for clergymen.<sup>54</sup> £6 from de Hiche's will was to be spent on 'pious uses', with which the Cathedral Chapter purchased ornaments for divine service, books, a chalice, vestment towels, phials, and other necessities.<sup>55</sup> The canons had some autonomy when deciding where to spend the funds intended for pious uses. Instead of offering it to the poor, canons furnished the Cathedral.

The section found at the end of the accounts only details a minority of the payments related to fulfilling obits, but it remains possible to further understanding on what benefactors demanded from the Church in return for the creation of obits and bequeathed land. There was a lack of donations in cash or foodstuffs made to poor parishioners in this section, which perhaps indicates that such almsgiving took place earlier in the financial year and would have been included in the obit rolls recorded at the beginning of the expenses section of the accounts. The late obit subheading highlights that benefactors requested a variety of course cloth to provide for the poor. Cheaper cloth was undoubtedly chosen to maximise the quantity of paupers who could benefit from the donation, which would have increased the number of prayers secured for the deceased. The purchase of cheaper goods also indicates that the Chapter and its benefactors saw no reason to provide the poor working in fields with luxurious or fine cloth. The gifts offered to the poor were intended to suit their perceived position in society. Cloth from Mendip, Somerset was frequently purchased, in addition to russet, canvas, and

---

<sup>53</sup> 'Lincoln Cathedral: a History of the County of Lincoln, volume II', *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lines/vol2/pp80-96#fnn182> [accessed 24/2/17].

<sup>54</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 ff.12-13 and Bi/2/4 f.35.

<sup>55</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 ff.12-13 and Bi/2/4 f.35.

occasionally linen. The Chapter also purchased cloth produced in Candlewick Street, a ward in London, to clothe the poor and fulfil obit obligations. The Cathedral Chapter consistently bought the cheapest cloth in the highest quantities. Every year, purchases of over 200 units (ells) of canvas cloth was bought costing the Chapter an average of 70s. in the first half of the century and 100s. from 1357. In comparison, the more expensive Candlewick Street cloth was bought much more infrequently and in smaller volumes. The Chapter bought this cloth on sixteen occasions between 1304 and 1368 and paid more than £10 for only four units.<sup>56</sup> There was a clear policy to increase the potential number of recipients of the cloth, rather than an emphasis on providing good quality cloth for fewer people.

The section also provides an insight into the recipients of charity from obits. It was not only poor parishioners who became beneficiaries of post-mortem charity, but cloth was donated to poor clerks and the choir boys each year. Annually, 30s. was spent on clothing the choir boys and an average of over 100s. was spent on cloth for poor clerks. Payments to the lesser clergy served a charitable and practical purpose. It could be classed as an act of benevolence whilst enabling the Cathedral to dedicate more personnel to pray at chantries and during obits. The deceased made donations to benefit the prestige and pride of the Cathedral. The Chapter received funds to maintain higher numbers of personnel, whose vestments were acquired for free from obits and wills. To any visitor, the high number of clerks, chaplains, and other members of the Cathedral clergy must have been impressive. Lincoln Cathedral therefore not only benefitted from the donated land given to support the obit, but from direct requests to furnish its staff. The accounts show the actual allocation of resources and can be used to highlight the diligence of the Cathedral Chapter to fulfil obligations placed upon them concerning obits. The Chapter consistently paid out great sums of money to fulfil obit payments, highlighting the importance placed upon their obligation to pray for the souls of benefactors.

The fulfilment of obits calls into question the true purpose of charitable donations offered to the poor directly from the Cathedral's common fund. The intended beneficiaries of gifts to the poor were arguably the initial deceased benefactors themselves. There is no doubt that many of society's poorest benefitted from these payments of cloth, which may only represent a fraction of the total almsgiving originating from obits. An unknown quantity of alms may have been distributed earlier in the obit accounts, which is only referenced to in the opening

---

<sup>56</sup> for examples, see Bi/2/4 ff.5,70-71,97.

paragraph of the expenses section of the common fund. Total charity given as part of obit requirements therefore remains allusive. The type and volume of cloth bought indicates that the Chapter was instructed to ensure almsgiving reached as many recipients as possible to maximise the number of prayers secured for the benefactor's soul. However, it was the securing of prayers for souls of the deceased which best represents the Chapter's main aim when distributing alms in order to satisfy the demands of their deceased benefactors. Any benevolence or charity shown to the poor was a by-product of the wider and more pressing aim to facilitate the passing of a benefactor's soul to heaven. Post-mortem giving cannot be separated from self-serving motivations as the main intention was not to contribute to the welfare of the unfortunate, but to escape prolonged pains in Purgatory. It can therefore be argued that the true aim of the Chapter's acts of charity within the accounts says more about their care for deceased canons, clergymen, or important local figures who donated much wealth to the Cathedral on their deathbed.

Comparable evidence at both Lincoln and Exeter Cathedrals suggest that Chapters were a familial unit and undertook gift-giving to further the spiritual interests and welfare of deceased members, which draws parallels with Rosser's study on gild solidarity explored in Chapter Two.<sup>57</sup> Lepine's study of Exeter Cathedral is informative on the purpose and function of obits in secular cathedrals. He asserts that obits brought prestige, a sense of community and filled the institution's *raison d'être*.<sup>58</sup> Obits also brought some financial gain with small surpluses being more common than any deficits.<sup>59</sup> Obits supported a great number of priests, who were employed via the obit to perform services and mass, which would have enhanced the pride of the Cathedral and allowed the institution to be perceived as a thriving religious community. They also fostered and encouraged a sense of collective identity.<sup>60</sup> Lepine argued that Exeter's obits similarly suggest that canons cared about souls of their predecessors.<sup>61</sup> If the Cathedral and its clergymen were seen to respect the requirements of obits, it may have further encouraged others to follow suit. The majority of obits performed at the Cathedral were to benefit the souls of deceased predecessors and acquaintances of the Cathedral's personnel. Resident canons were a close-knit community, which included both the living and dead.

---

<sup>57</sup> G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Gilds in England 1250-1500*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.78-86.

<sup>58</sup> Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore", pp.59-60.

<sup>59</sup> Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore", p.69.

<sup>60</sup> Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore", p.59-60.

<sup>61</sup> A high proportion of obits at Exeter Cathedral also related to the souls of deceased resident canons. See Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore" p.65.

Loyalty to associates may have led to a diligent attitude towards obits. In addition, it is conceivable that the canons wanted to receive the same treatment for their souls after death and therefore diligently maintained the obits of their predecessors to inspire similar treatment from their successors. Adherence to obits was an expression of loyalty to the Chapter community.<sup>62</sup>

Aside from the allocation of cloth to the poor as part of obits, there is very little evidence that the Cathedral Chapter directly supported the poor parishioners from the common fund. Every year, some cash was given to the poor of Glenthams, but this is sporadic and was not substantial enough to constitute any real effort on behalf of the Chapter to relieve poverty. The accounts stipulate that funds were to be spent on the welfare of the poor, but relief never equated to more than 13s. a year over the period 1304-1370.<sup>63</sup> The physical location within the records of this cash gift to the poor of Glenthams also changes in 1316. Initially it appears under the heading *Custus Domorum* but then changes to appear under the heading *Curialitates*. The fact that the act of benevolence shown towards Glenthams' parishioners has no set place in the accounts, and certainly no separate subheading with other charitable payments, indicates that even officials were unsure of where to include such expenditure. There is no logical place to record charity, further highlighting the lack of importance placed upon direct almsgiving from the common fund.

An analysis into how the accounts functioned also indicates that it may have been difficult for individual canons to access funds to offer to the poor. The common fund account was a formal record, which suggests that individual canons could not dip into the funds on an ad hoc basis. Perhaps any beggars on the steps of the Cathedral's doors, for which Lepine found evidence from chronicles, were pursuing the alms of individual canons or hoping that they had arrived on a certain day and would therefore receive distributions from obits.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps the Cathedral was an opportune place for begging individual clergymen and the lay visitors. The lack of any evidence to suggest funds were withdrawn from the common fund indicates the Cathedral Chapter as an institution was not responsible for the distribution of alms. Arguably any acts of philanthropy offered to the beggars congregating at the Cathedral were the result of canons' private gifts or were offered by other visitors to the Cathedral, many of whom may have wished to improve the state of their own soul. It is plausible that any almsgiving directly from the Cathedral Chapter as an institution may not have furthered collective goals. Perhaps canons

---

<sup>62</sup> Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore" p.72.

<sup>63</sup> It is currently unclear why Glenthams was regularly a recipient. See Bi/2/4 f.16.

<sup>64</sup> Lepine, 'Almsgiving at Secular Cathedrals', pp.1068-1069.

could not reduce their own purgatorial suffering through donations made from the common fund. In serving and fulfilling obits, the Chapter benefitted economically and in terms of institutional pride, but only almsgiving between individuals created a reciprocal contract in which the poor received alms and the benefactor earned salvation.

The canons' diligence in serving obits suggests that the Cathedral's officials were mindful of the souls of their predecessors and placed much emphasis on serving obits effectively. The apparent acts of almsgiving found within the accounts are therefore more complicated than just gifts to the poor. Obits highlight the reciprocal nature of medieval charity. Gift-giving established a link between the rich benefactors and the poor, whilst allowing the Cathedral Chapter to also financially and spiritually benefit through their role as an intermediary. The rich gave money to the Church in return for the care of their soul in the afterlife. The gift placed an obligation on the Church to fulfil the requirements of the obit and distribute alms according to the will of the deceased. In return for alms, the poor were obligated to pray for the souls of the rich and were often involved in elaborate processions and funerary and obit services to aid the deceased and contribute to the prestige of the Cathedral. The Chapter's gifts and evidence of philanthropy indicate that canons could further their own financial and spiritual needs through the distribution of alms. The Church, the poor, and the rich alike all stood to benefit by partaking in the reciprocal ties of gift-giving.

Evidence of philanthropic activity in the common fund accounts suggests that Lincoln Cathedral's canons did not prioritise almsgiving in the fourteenth century. The Cathedral Chapter did not offer alms directly to the poor despite the significant annual surpluses discussed in Chapter One. The distribution of cloth as part of obits may have had a considerable effect on ameliorating the lives of local paupers but this was part of the Chapter's administrative responsibilities and arguably better reflects their aim to protect the souls of deceased predecessors and benefactors. The accounts suggest that almsgiving was a private matter between individual benefactor and beneficiary. As demonstrated by the high levels of expenditure on obits, the Church's teachings and the importance placed upon almsgiving as a means to secure salvation elicited much charitable giving in the fourteenth century. The Church successfully encouraged philanthropic attitudes towards the poor and undoubtedly contributed to ameliorating the lives and wellbeing of the country's poorest residents. However, as an institution, the Chapter was not charitable. Canons only distributed alms when it was an administrative necessity and did not voluntarily offer support to the poor. It unfortunately

remains unknown whether individual canons themselves offered personal donations, but a distinct lack of charity found in the common fund indicates that philanthropy fell into the private domain. In order for the benefactor to receive the reciprocated benefits of gift-exchange, they had to be an individual and not an institution.

### *Reciprocal Gifts and Alliances*

Unlike the inexistence of a subheading for charitable acts, the accounts do possess a specific section titled *Exennie*, which dealt with the distribution of gifts to powerful secular figures and influential members of the higher clergy. The occurrence of such gifts perhaps highlights the specific benefit of gift-giving to the Cathedral as an institution. In contrast to the sparse evidence on the Cathedral Chapter's direct gifts to the poor, there is a clearer sense of a social contract surrounding the gifts offered to high members of the Church and elite. Most notably in the early fourteenth century, there was a clear selective policy on recipients of the Chapter's gifts. Regular offerings were made to bishops and other high clergymen, particularly when they were elected into office. For example, William Greenfield was gifted pork on his election to the archbishopric of York in 1304 and the accounts reference him as the newly elected Archbishop. The pork was not part of the Chapter's hospitality obligations, which would still have aimed to establish relations, but two carts of meat were physically sent to York.<sup>65</sup> Arguably, the purpose of such gifts were simple well-wishes. However, it is plausible that offerings made at the beginning of a bishop's episcopate aimed to signal a friendly relationship from the outset. The Chapter wanted to establish a good relationship to ensure that the newly appointed archbishop would look favourably upon Lincoln. In return for their generosity, the Chapter aimed to cement a positive and favourable relationship with the new Archbishop.

In addition to the examples explored in the previous chapter, several other nuncios received gifts from the Chapter. In 1305, William de Testa received bread and wine, costing 2s., in addition to two salmon and two pike. He also received over 66s. in cash and his companion was gifted a silk purse.<sup>66</sup> The accounts state that William de Testa, the archdeacon of Arran, was acting on behalf of the cardinal Raymond de Got and it is possible he was sent to the Cathedral to negotiate and settle the dispute concerning the rightful dean of the Chapter. The canons had elected Jocelyn Kirmington in 1305, who was later forcibly replaced by the Pope's

---

<sup>65</sup> Bi/2/4 f.34.

<sup>66</sup> Bi/2/4 f.15.

nephew Raymond de Got.<sup>67</sup> The expensive gifts offered to the nuncio suggests the high importance of the business at hand. The Chapter had agreed to fully support Jocelyn's claim to the deanery of the Cathedral, who journeyed directly to Rome to take his case to the Pope. The Chapter acts record how the canons had promised immediate action if their elected dean was imprisoned in Rome, which perhaps suggests that canons were concerned that this was a possibility.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps the Chapter were hopeful that their lavish and generous gifts would encourage the nuncio to act favourably in the dispute. It was nevertheless unsuccessful, and the Pope's nephew Raymond de Got became dean in 1305 for the following decade.<sup>69</sup>

In a similar manner, the Chapter also offered generous gifts to the nuncios responsible for the inquiry into the Templars in 1309. Master Sicard de Vanro and Lord Abbot of Lagny were each given bread, fourteen bottles of wine, three freshwater fish, and the means to transport their goods, which cost the Chapter over 40s.<sup>70</sup> In particular, the offerings of freshwater fish, namely pike and salmon, were generous and significant. As Woolgar argued, the offering of foodstuffs was crucial in the development of desirable social relations.<sup>71</sup> There was a sizeable Templar population living in Lincolnshire, particularly near Navenby where the Cathedral held lands. There is considerable evidence to indicate conflict between the religious order and the Cathedral in the accounts. The Chapter regularly gave money to officials presiding over court cases involving the Templars, with the instruction that they should act favourably towards Chapter business.<sup>72</sup> Although no further explicit evidence is given, it is plausible that the two wealthy religious institutions in close proximity had frequent disputes. The Cathedral Chapter could have used gift-giving here in exchange for information or to encourage a favoured and desired outcome in the Templars' trial. The frequent disputes between Lincoln's canons and the Templars suggests that the Chapter wanted to see their downfall.

Gifts to powerful secular figures also suggest the Cathedral used gift-giving in attempt to secure royal favour. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was Edward I and his son Edward II who received the most generous gifts in coin from the Cathedral Chapter. Edward I received £33 6s. 8d. when he spent his birthday at Lincoln in the winter of 1304 before continuing his journey through to

---

<sup>67</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 f.5.

<sup>68</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 f.5.

<sup>69</sup> J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, Lincoln Diocese*, (London: Diana E. Greenway, 1962), p.3.

<sup>70</sup> Bi2/4 f.55

<sup>71</sup> See C.M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), pp.6-18.

<sup>72</sup> For example, see Bi/2/4 f.68.



Scotland.<sup>73</sup> His Queen Margaret and the Prince Edward received a further £20 each, totalling over £73 offered to the royal family in one given year. Many of his staff were also offered gifts in both cash and kind.<sup>74</sup> The Chapter acts state that such a sum was loaned from the chest of Saint Hugh.<sup>75</sup> The fact that the Chapter borrowed the funds from elsewhere suggests two possible scenarios. On the one hand, perhaps there was insufficient funds within the common fund to offer the king such a generous sum of money in one payment. Alternatively, or additionally, it is plausible that there was more symbolic value attributed to the funds originating from the shrine of the Cathedral's only official saint. There is no transaction within the common fund to suggest that this sum was ever repaid to Saint Hugh's shrine, which supports the latter of these interpretations and suggests that offering the king a donation from the shrine created a stronger obligation to reciprocate. Through such gift-giving, the Chapter highlighted their wealth, generosity, and loyalty towards the Crown. In return, the wardrobe accounts detail a generous donation to the shrine of 'Blessed Robert'.<sup>76</sup> It is likely that the Chapter were aiming to establish a favourable relationship in the hope of securing royal favour. The king's reciprocated gift suggests that this was probably successful.

The single most costly gift was offered to Edward II in 1313, shortly after the baron's rebellion and the death of the king's favourite Piers Gaveston, where he received over £66 in coin.<sup>77</sup> In the following year, the king also received twenty carcasses of meat, which cost the Chapter 50s. and a further 16d. for transport.<sup>78</sup> In the same two years, the Chapter also awarded £33 6s. 8d. to Thomas of Lancaster, forty bottles of wine and freshwater fish to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and bread and wine to Henry Percy. These three figures opposed the king's relationship with his favourite, Gaveston. They were allegedly involved in Piers' death in 1312 and Archbishop Winchelsea in particular had been a leading political figure during the opposition to the king. Kathleen Edwards argued that Winchelsea was crucial to the success of the barons' cause, and his death led to an irrecoverable lack of leadership, which eventually led to the opposition's downfall.<sup>79</sup> She argued that there is substantial evidence that bishops and other spiritual leaders were actively involved in politics and voiced concerns and their

---

<sup>73</sup> Bi/2/4 f.3v.

<sup>74</sup> Bi/2/4 f.3v.

<sup>75</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 f.3.

<sup>76</sup> E 101/337/21/3/ii. The relevance of the king's decision to donate to shrine of Robert Grosseteste is explored in the fourth chapter.

<sup>77</sup> Bi/2/4 f.95v.

<sup>78</sup> Bi/2/4 f.105v.

<sup>79</sup> K. Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops During the Reign of Edward II', *The English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), p. 319.

dislike of Gaveston and the king's policies. John Dalderby, the Bishop of Lincoln during the rebellion, did not take up active involvement against the crown over the issue of Gaveston, but Edwards argued that he had sympathies with Winchelsea's cause.<sup>80</sup> Arguably, the Cathedral Chapter's decision to offer gifts to both the king and the rebelling barons indicates that they were trying to please both sides involved in the conflict. Perhaps they hedged their bets and hoped that whichever side was triumphant would view Lincoln Cathedral as a supporter or ally.

Unfortunately, the accounts do not offer explicit details on what the Chapter received in return for their donations and gifts. If return gifts were foodstuffs or physical goods rather than coin, they would not appear in the common fund. What the accounts do suggest, however, is that the Chapter was able to use gift-giving to establish itself as a powerful and generous institution. In a similar manner to the gifts offered by members of the elite explored in Chapter Two, gifts allowed the Cathedral Chapter to display wealth and generosity, which arguably allowed them to earn social status. Through gift-exchange and appearing generous, the Chapter was granted access to networks with members of the secular and religious elite.

Another notable feature of the Chapter's gift-giving practices was the regular offering of home-grown goods or items produced directly by the Cathedral. The Chapter regularly gave wine to recipients, which was produced from the Cathedral's vineyard and kept in the store. Arguably, an advantage of using such wine was the relatively cheaper cost of its provision. However, it is also plausible that there was substantial symbolic value in gifts produced from within the Cathedral's walls. Woolgar suggested that homemade produce was more successful at securing alliances. He explored the medieval relevance of Mauss' theory of the *Hau*, which is the notion that the donor gives something of themselves to their beneficiary. Woolgar argued that homemade gifts or foodstuffs facilitated a more personal relationship.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps gifts cultivated by the Chapter arguably had the potential to form a closer connection with their

---

<sup>80</sup> K. Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops', p. 319. Other research continues to uphold the prevalence of bishops or high clergymen in politics throughout the Middle Ages. See J.W. McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum*, 45.4 (1970), pp.608-623; D.S. Bacrach, 'The Ecclesia Anglicana goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda, and Conquest during the reign of Edward I of England, 1272-1307', *A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 36.3 (2004), pp.393-406; A.K. McHardy, 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years' War', *Studies in Church History*, 19 (1982), pp.215-227. W.R. Jones, 'The English Church and Royal Propaganda during the Hundred Years' War', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1979), pp.18-30. The political allegiance of Dalderby's successor, Henry Burghersh, has also been the focus of much scholarly debate. Contemporary chronicles depict him as a traitor who sided with Thomas Lancaster and Queen Isabella in 1322. The relevance of this is in dispute but there was a clear acceptance that bishops were also involved in secular issues. See N. Bennett, (ed.), *The Register of Henry Burghersh 1320-1342 Volume I*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp.xii-xiii.

<sup>81</sup> Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', p.9.

recipients. The Chapter's gifts of homemade wine were therefore likely a conscious decision to develop more personal networks with elite figures.

The Cathedral Chapter demonstrated extraordinary generosity towards both secular and religious figures. All of such cases were arguably driven by the Chapter's desire to advance politically or socially. Through the offering of gifts, the canons could purchase favour or encourage favourable outcomes in disputes. The Chapter could establish social ties and advance their position within society. Such gifts highlight the role of reciprocal giving in the formation of social ties. The resident canons regularly offered generous gifts to those with considerable power in the hope of securing a favourable future for the Chapter. The different approaches to gifts to the poor and the rich suggest that the Chapter only acted as an institution or cohesive unit to promote and establish favourable social networks with powerful members of the elite. Only an individual donor could benefit from the spiritual gains to the soul through charitable gift-giving but an institution or collective benefitted from ceremonial gift-exchange to the elite.

A similarity between the Chapter's gift-giving practices to the rich and poor is the important role of symbolism. Through obits, the donations of cloth to the poor reflect the Christian teachings to clothe the naked.<sup>82</sup> Instead of simply distributing sums to the value stipulated in post-mortem requests, canons purposefully sourced and purchased specific types of cloth. Gifts to important members of the elite were frequently foodstuffs, a significant proportion of which the Chapter produced directly. The offer of homemade produce was symbolic as it allowed the donor to share something of themselves with their beneficiary. Donations of coin to the king were made from the shrines of canonised saints, which carries symbolic connotations. Much existing research explores the symbolism of gift-giving. Lepine, for example, highlighted that the calendar had a significant effect on the distribution of alms with benefactors timing donations to coincide with spiritually important days.<sup>83</sup> The number of beneficiaries was also symbolic, with many testators offering aid to twelve paupers to reflect the number of disciples.<sup>84</sup> The recipient, type of gift offered, and the timing of the exchange were all symbolic.

---

<sup>82</sup> See, for example, *Isiah* 58:7; *Ezekiel* 18:7; *Luke* 3:11; *Acts* 9:39.

<sup>83</sup> Lepine, 'Almsgiving at Secular Cathedrals', p.1069.

<sup>84</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.249-50; D. Lepine, 'High Solemn Ceremonies': the funerary practices of the late medieval higher clergy, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.1 (2010), p.27.

### *Economic Influences and Cathedral Gift-Giving*

The common fund accounts allow for a direct comparison between the extent of the Cathedral Chapter's gift-giving and the overall economic performance of the institution over the fourteenth century. Trends in the levels and types of gifts can be analysed alongside the overall stability of the institution. The chapter concludes that the Chapter was less likely to offer gifts to senior officials and elite members of the nobility during times of economic uncertainty, but largely continued a diligent attitude towards obits. Economic considerations were therefore influential but not conclusive determinant factors in regulating gift-giving practices. Some evidence supports a slight change in the level of philanthropy undertaken through obits over the course of the century but overall, economic change was significantly more likely to affect the level and type of gifts to important secular and religious figures. In the years during and after famine, the Cathedral Chapter reduced its gift-giving practices to the elite, which suggests that there was less importance placed upon the reciprocal potential of gifts to create worldly alliances when economic instability threatened. In addition, changes in the items that the Chapter offered to rich and poor alike provides an overview of trends in prices of foodstuffs and goods over the fourteenth century. An analysis of the Chapter's gift-giving practices facilitates an understanding of trends in the cost of oats, cloth and wine. Economic considerations not only influenced the levels of gift-giving but determined the type of gift offered. In times of high prices, the Chapter refrained from purchasing the most expensive produce.

The wider economy had little effect on the fulfilment of obits and the distribution of alms on a yearly, short-term basis. There is no correlation between overall Chapter revenue and expenditure on obits. The average annual spending on obits between 1304 and 1386 equalled over £371. Fulfilling post-mortem demands was consistently and considerably the costliest obligation and form of expenditure for the Cathedral Chapter throughout the period. An average of 44 per cent of spending was allocated to obits, which equated to 30 per cent of the Chapter's yearly revenue. It was a costly source of expenditure. Figure One outlines the correlation between overall expenditure and obits. It is apparent that obits had a direct effect on the annual spending. When obits required a large amount of funds, it was an expensive year for the Chapter and canons were unable to minimise outgoings elsewhere. In contrast, there is no correlation between income and obit expenditure, which suggests that the Chapter did not base the level of spending allocated to obits upon predicted or actual yearly earnings. Total

revenue played no role in influencing obit expenditure. The short-term annual economic performance of the Cathedral bore no direct effect on the level of spending on the fulfilment of post-mortem requests, a substantial component of which included alms distributed to the poor. Obit expenditure remained an important obligation and could not be reduced in line with the Chapter's annual receipts.

It may seem an obvious conclusion that economic concerns had little to no effect on any spending related to obits. Obit expenditure should be linked more to the number of deaths than the state of the economy. However, as stated above, the income received from individual obit requests was not directly funding the specific requirements of each beneficiary, which may have meant more freedom for officials to cut back on expenses when money was less plentiful. The Chapter still had the power to make decisions based on the distribution of their resources, even if certain instructions were stipulated in wills of deceased benefactors. The fact that there is no significant link between fulfilling obits and overall short-term financial stability suggests that the Chapter's duty to provide such post-mortem services was not perceived as optional and was an important use of the Chapter's funds. This supports Lepine's study on obits at Exeter Cathedral, which argued that obit books reveal considerable reliability and regularity in the observance of post-mortem services.<sup>85</sup>

Long-term or sustained economic change had a more tangible effect on obit expenditure. In the decades after the Black Death, there was a slight decrease in the level of funds allocated to obit services. In the 1360s, the costs of obits fell to an average of £347, a reduction which was particularly marked in the beginning years of the decade. The average or typical obit was expected to last approximately twenty years. It therefore seems unlikely that the fall in expenditure relates to a decline in the local death rate because the Black Death was still in living memory.<sup>86</sup> There are a few possible explanations to a decline in obit expenditure. One theory is that if prices reduced, perhaps obits could be fulfilled, and the designated number of paupers supplied with goods, for less money. If an obit stipulated that twelve paupers must be clothed and fed, perhaps it became cheaper for the Cathedral to fulfil such requirements. However, there is evidence to suggest that the Chapter were under attack for their failure to

---

<sup>85</sup> Lepine, 'Their Name Liveth for Evermore', p.65.

<sup>86</sup> Estimates of mortality during the Black Death range from between 30 and 50 percent. S.K. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, (London: Arnold, 2002); L.R. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death, Essex 1350-1525*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); J.W. Wood et al. 'The Temporal Dynamics of the Fourteenth Century: new evidence from ecclesiastical records', *Human Biology* 75 (2003), pp.427-448.

meet obit requirements in the later fourteenth century and faced criticism from the bishop for failing to maintain the required level of spending on obits.<sup>87</sup> It therefore seems unlikely that reduced prices ensured it was easier for canons to fulfil their obligations to care for the souls of deceased. The problem lay in their ability to meet requirements.

A significant decline in obit spending from the 1350s supports the bishop's observation that the Chapter were neglecting their obligations to deceased benefactors. The 30 per cent of income spent on obits before the Black Death fell to only 22 per cent in the late 1350s and 1360s. However, it remains unlikely that a fall in obit expenditure was linked to the Chapter's negligence. The Chapter proved to be very diligent in their observance of obits throughout the fourteenth century, even increasing the funds spent during the most turbulent years of famine and high prices. Instead, the decline in obit spending indicates that the demands became more difficult to fulfil. A potential cause for a decline in obit spending was a significant drop in the output of benefactors' land appropriated to the Cathedral to support obits. It is plausible that land fell into ruin after the plague, with a shortage of labourers available to farm in rural settlements. Lepine's analysis of obit expenditure in Exeter supports this theory. He found that canons in Exeter in the aftermath of plague could not maintain previous levels of obit expenditure due to declining rents and falling returns from farms allocated to provide obits.<sup>88</sup> As Chapter One argued, there was a distinct lack in the number of tenants able to pay rents in rural areas in the late fourteenth century. Demesne farming revenue also decreased in the aftermath of the Black Death, largely due to the canons decisions to lease out estates. Arguably land donated to the Chapter to protect the soul of the deceased no longer supported such lavish donations. Perhaps the Chapter faced criticism for not fulfilling obit requests because they had insufficient funds available. The Chapter refrained from spending their own income, generated by other sources of revenue, to meet obit demands.

A decline in the Chapter's ability to satisfy the demands of their benefactors affected the distribution of obit related payments. The Chapter had to decide whether to honour alms to the poor or provide clerics and choir boys with cloth. The section at the end of the accounts details any late obit payments in more detail than the brief subheading within the main body. The majority of obits were first recorded in the obit rolls, which would have contained more specific information concerning the wishes of the deceased. The late obits only appear in the common

---

<sup>87</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 f.31. See 'Lincoln Cathedral: a history of the county of Lincoln, volume II', *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lincs/vol2/pp80-96#fnn113> [accessed 15/1/18].

<sup>88</sup> Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore" p.69.

fund, and so itemise the types of expenditure. This section allows for a deeper understanding of how the wider economy affected the Cathedral Chapter's attitudes and decisions when fulfilling obits. As stated above, it is likely that the late obit payments were made towards the end of the financial year for practical reasons, such as the timings of fairs in which the Cathedral Chapter purchased cloth. The trends witnessed in the distribution of alms within this section can be used to indicate the proportion of obits allocated to almsgiving. The amount of funds allocated to purchase cloth for paupers increased over the period 1304-1386. Even an average of £25 10s. was spent during the famine on charitable distributions, a slight increase from £22 in the preceding decade. Nearly £37 was spent on cloth after the Black Death, which represented 65 per cent of all late obit payments. This percentage cannot be extrapolated to argue that 65 per cent of all obit payments were spent to benefit the poor, but it does suggest a continued desire to provide for the poor in order to secure prayers for the souls of the deceased. Again, Lepine found a similar pattern in Exeter where there was a sudden increase from 22 to 75 per cent of obit expenditure spent on almsgiving.<sup>89</sup> Overall obit expenditure decreased but the Chapter spent a larger proportion of their resources on purchasing cloth for the poor.

In comparison to the volumes of cloth donated to the poor, the total value of cloth distributed amongst clerics and choir boys declined. With limited resources to fund obit requests, the Chapter prioritised almsgiving to the poor. This is reflected in the bishop's criticism of the Chapter in its failure and negligence of obits. The bishop observed that vicars and choir boys were neglected.<sup>90</sup> The Cathedral's lower-ranking personnel were denied cloth when obits became more difficult to fulfil as a higher priority was placed upon the distribution of alms to the poor. Arguably, this was due to fewer chaplains able to perform mass for benefactors' souls. The Chapter's decisions to continue alms to the poor over the distribution of cloth to poor clerics or payments to chaplains arguably serves as an indication into the perceived priorities in successfully fulfilling obit obligations. When resources fell, the Chapter ensured that they could offer cloth to the poor, which suggest that paupers' prayers were the most essential component of obit services to secure salvation. Provisions for clergymen to perform services were of secondary importance.

An analysis of the cost of the cloth purchased indicates that price increases caused the rise in the level of almsgiving after the Black Death. The Chapter were not increasing the number of

---

<sup>89</sup> Lepine, "Their Name Liveth for Evermore", p.68.

<sup>90</sup> FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33 f.31.

paupers in receipt of alms but had to spend more to meet the same demands. Canvas cloth, for example, was purchased in the highest quantity over the period 1304 to 1369. Most years, the Chapter purchased over 200 rolls of canvas; the price of which rose from 75s. in 1306, to 118s. in 1365. In addition, after the Black Death, the Chapter purchased cloth from Candlewick Street in London each year. This cloth was only bought in small quantities (approximately five rolls a year) but was the most expensive. Perhaps a new policy to purchase such cloth indicates the Cathedral Chapter preferred to buy quality over quantity in the later fourteenth century. It is also an indication that the canons at Lincoln were trying to find new suppliers in a more competitive market. The later obit evidence reveals that the Chapter were making efforts to continue to provide for the poor, despite the rising prices of cloth. Any reduction in the overall volume of coin spent on obits in the later fourteenth century might not have come at a detriment to the poor parishioners, from whom the Cathedral Chapter aimed to elicit prayers.

There was a much more apparent and significant change in the level of gift-giving to both secular and religious figures over the period 1304-1386. The most striking observation is that the amount of money reserved for gift-giving plummeted from over £20 a year to only 33s. 4d. after 1325, with only a couple of years as exceptions. The sum was only to be spent on nobles passing through the city of Lincoln, which perhaps indicates it was to be spent on hospitality.<sup>91</sup> The Chapter periodically made exceptions, such as the gifts of oats, wine and bread to the Queen and the Bishop of Durham in 1333. Overall, the 1320s saw a new strict policy to limit the level of gifts given to those outside of the Cathedral. The famine and temporary short-term economic difficulties affected gift-giving in the fourteenth century. Gifts to the elite were decimated to the minimal level and there was no demonstrable change in gift-giving practices after the Black Death.

In the first two decades of the fourteenth century, the Cathedral Chapter spent an average of £17 on gift-giving, which was substantially more than the average over the entire period of only £8. However, before the famine, the Chapter gifted an annual sum of over £24, which reduced to only £4 between 1315 and 1319. The famine years had a clear impact upon the gift-giving practices of the Cathedral Chapter. As highlighted in Figure Two, in the mid-1310s there was a change in the level of gifts that the Chapter provided. The sudden downturn in the

---

<sup>91</sup> L. Kjaer argues for the central importance of hospitality in medieval politics in L. Kjaer, 'Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), pp.75-89. Hospitality was offered to ameliorate the opinions and loyalties of their guests; or at least to compel guests through social norms to act as if it had. A future project hopes to explore the role of hospitality in more depth.



frequency of gifts to elite officials indicates that the value of the gift, and its potential to create an obligatory reciprocation, declined in the face of economic insecurity within the institution's own financial situation. Unlike spending on the poor as part of obit provisions, which was seen to slightly increase over famine years, generous gifts to powerful figures substantially declined. The Chapter opted to protect its economic position, rather than implement gift-giving practices to build and cement social networks or contracts of reciprocity.

Figure Two demonstrates that there were a couple of extraordinary years in terms of the Chapter's acts of gift-giving. In the year 1304, for example, the resident canons spent over £87 on gifts to powerful members of the nobility and church. As indicated above, 84 per cent of this sum was spent on gifts to the king and his immediate family when he arrived in Lincoln to spend his birthday and Christmas in the city. Not only did the Chapter present King Edward, Queen Margaret, and Prince Edward with numerous gifts, but they also spent 3s. 4d. repairing buildings in which to house the royal household.<sup>92</sup> The king's arrival and stay in Lincoln before he travelled to Scotland, brought much money into the city. According to his itinerary, the household spent £612 during their week stay in Lincoln.<sup>93</sup> As discussed above, the gifts to higher members of the nobility and Archbishop Winchelsea caused a second anomaly in extraordinary gift-giving between 1313 and 1314. When it was needed, the Chapter prioritised gift-giving and was prepared to offer expensive gifts. The sum of 33s. 4d. was a standard yearly offering to passing nobles but the Chapter were prepared to significantly increase the amount of money spent on gifts on important occasions. The election of a new archbishop, a visit from the royal household, and the threat of a baronial rebellion presented such circumstances. The wider economy, however, influenced and mitigated the Chapter's decisions to offer gifts.

The level of detail available in the gift section of the common fund accounts allows for a more nuanced understanding of the volume and types of gifts given. Predominantly, the Chapter offered foodstuffs, wine or coin but occasionally specific items were given. In 1305, for example, a companion of a papal legate received a silk purse.<sup>94</sup> Prices of certain commodities affected the type of gifts given. This is perhaps more apparent in the distribution of oats. The accounts regularly state the price per quarter of oats that the Chapter offered to the Cathedral's

---

<sup>92</sup> Bi/2/4 f.3

<sup>93</sup> R.R. Davies, *First English Empire: power and identities in the British Isles 1093-1343*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.172; See PRO E 101/368/3.

<sup>94</sup> Bi/2/4 f.15.

visitors and guests. There does not seem to be any pattern for who received what gift. Both secular and religious figures received a mixture of grain and meat. Recipients range from the queen, bishops and secular officials. The inclusion of cost and volumes allows for an evaluation of the changing prices of oats over the period. Figure Three shows how the cost per quarter of oats changed over the course of the century. The Chapter regularly offered oats in the early fourteenth century but recurrently, the volume of oats offered decreased when the price per quarter increased.

Figure Three shows that the price of oats rose sharply from 34d. to 80d. a quarter between 1314 and 1318, the years marked by famine. During this time, there were fewer instances of the Cathedral Chapter offering oats as gifts to important social and religious figures. There is one occasion in 1314 and another in 1318 which involved the donation of only five quarters of oats to the King's Chancellor and Rigaunde de Assio, whose occupation remains unknown.<sup>95</sup> In comparison, when oats were relatively cheap, the Chapter bought the grain in high quantities. For example, prices were at a low point of 24d. a quarter in 1305 when the Chapter bought forty quarters to donate as gifts to the bishops of Chester and Durham.<sup>96</sup> If the Chapter purchased oats to offer as gifts then they clearly avoided acquiring the grain when it was at its most expensive. It is also possible that the oats came from the Chapter's own demesne, which indicates that they chose to sell the grain rather than offer it freely when the produce could fetch a high price at the market. The economy not only had a decisive influence on when the Chapter offered gifts but also determined which gifts were given.

An analysis of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's gift-giving practices during times of economic hardship suggests two different approaches to giving in the fourteenth century. Gifts to the poor were an administrative necessity and a highly important component of the Chapter's responsibility to care for the benefactors' souls. As such, almsgiving largely defied economic trends, but higher prices and economic uncertainty influenced the type of recipient. These payments to the poor cannot be regarded as acts of philanthropy yet suggest that the Cathedral as an institution played a significant role in ameliorating the lives of local paupers, even if this was primarily driven by reciprocity and motivated by concern for deceased benefactors. In contrast, economic stability had a clear influence on gifts to secular and religious figures. When the famine decimated the Chapter's profits, gift-giving plummeted and failed to rise

---

<sup>95</sup> Bi/2/4 f.104; Bi/2/5 f.4.

<sup>96</sup> Bi/2/4 f.14.

throughout the remainder of the century. The economy also influenced the types of gifts that the Chapter purchased. The Chapter avoided certain goods when they became too expensive.

Figure One: Obit spending, total expenditure, and total receipts

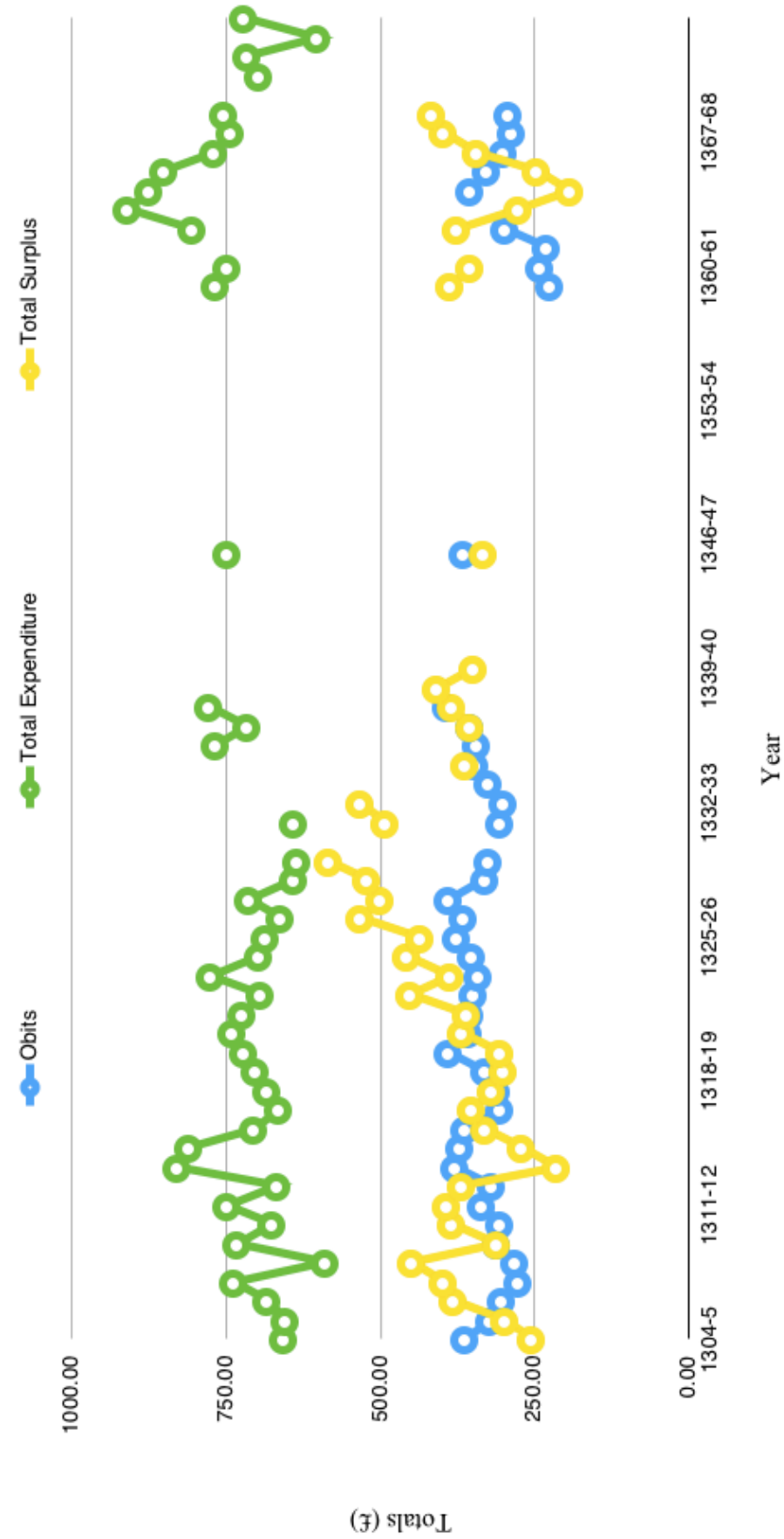


Figure Two: Gift-Giving between 1304 and 1369.

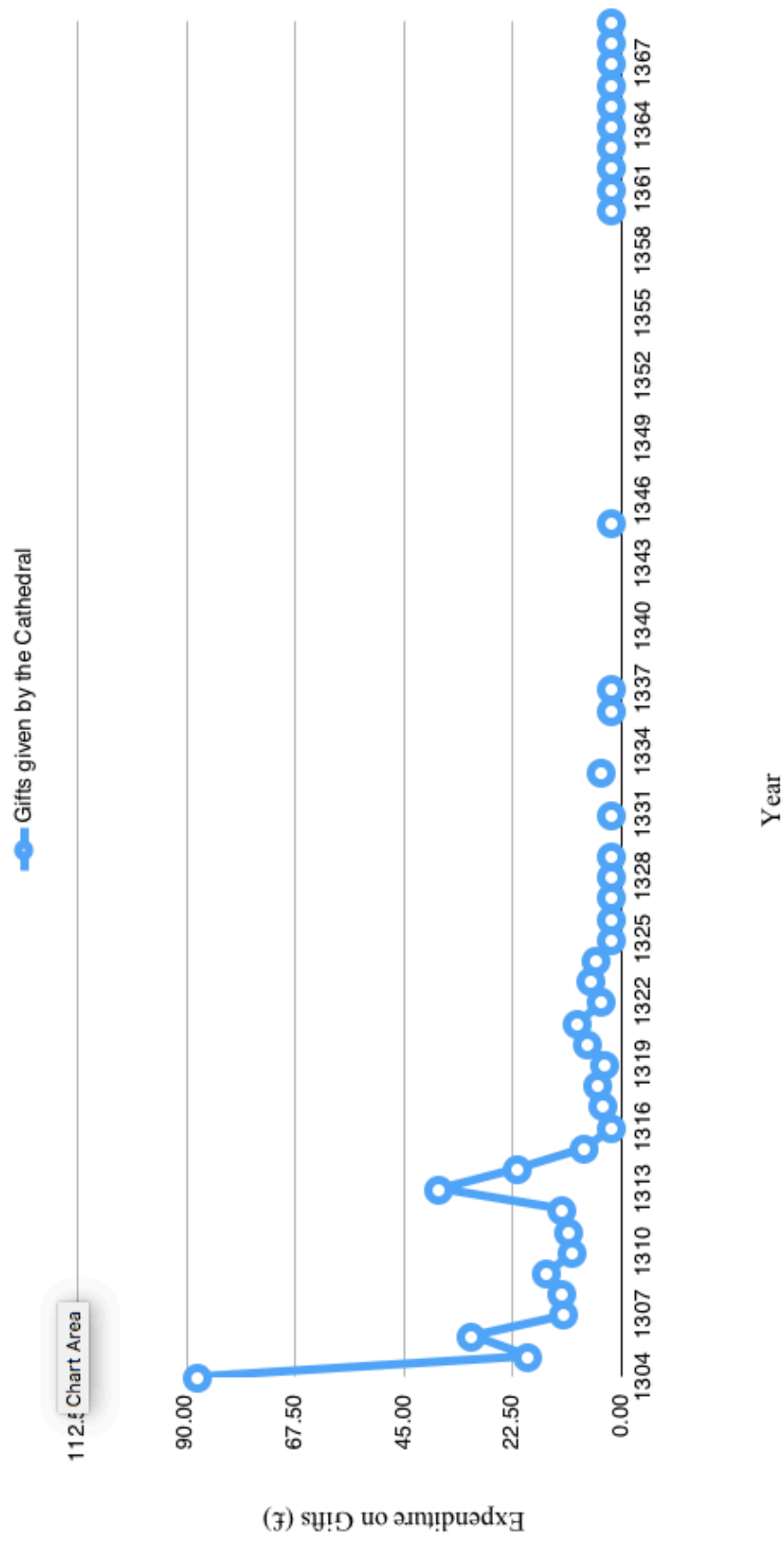
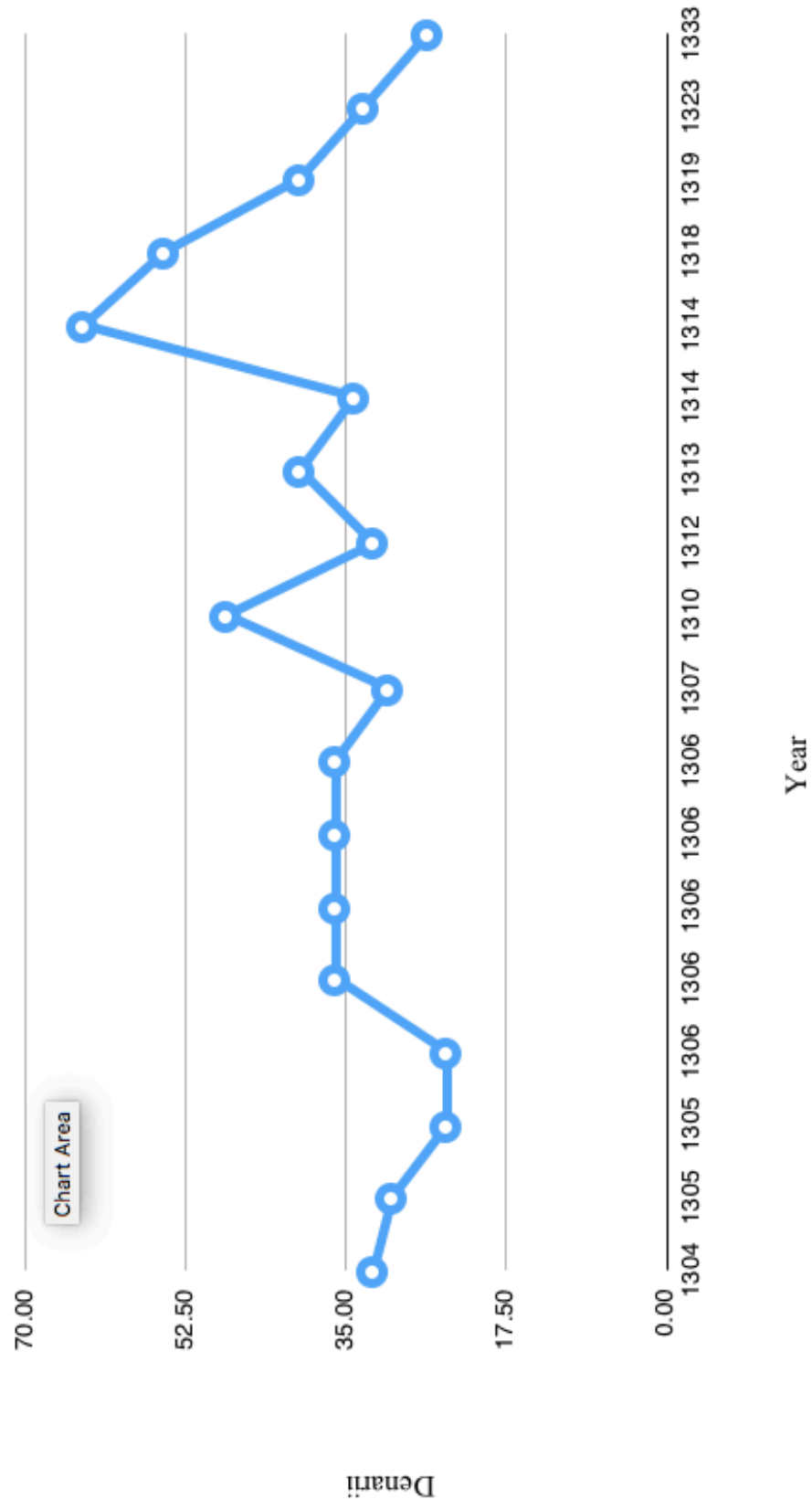


Figure Three: Prices of oats per quarter 1304-132



## *Conclusion*

Reciprocity played a crucial role in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter's gift-giving practices. Gifts to the poor and rich alike were offered in order to benefit the institution's economic and social position. There was a clear division between gifts to create worldly and divine alliances. It is rare that gifts were purchased from the common fund with no clues as to what the Chapter was hoping to inspire in return. The accounts highlight the important role of gift-giving in establishing relations in the early fourteenth century and provide an insight into how gift-giving practices reflect the Chapter's social or political standpoint on contemporary issues. The Cathedral was often very generous and targeted specific individuals as recipients of their generosity. The wider economy had a more influential role in determining gifts to officials than the fulfilment of poor relief as stipulated in obits. After the famine, the Cathedral Chapter were more reluctant to offer gifts to those outside the Cathedral's walls. Even in the most prosperous years for the Cathedral, previous gift-giving practices were not resumed. Perhaps the Chapter decided that gifts were no longer an effective use of resources and the standardisation of offerings was one method which enabled the institution to maintain higher surpluses from 1325.

The number of gifts offered to the poor suggests that the Chapter had a significant impact on improving the lives of the poor in the diocese. The gifts were substantial and involved considerable expenditure. Purchases of cloth for the poor occurred consistently and with very little change over the period 1304-1386. The true donor here was the deceased benefactor who had requested that the Chapter fulfil certain philanthropic donations in the of securing salvation. The initial donor was also the intended beneficiary as the Chapter sought to protect the souls of their predeceasing friends and colleagues. The evidence supports the theory that the Church was successful in its role to encourage philanthropy but simultaneously indicates that the Chapter itself was not a philanthropic institution. The canons had a duty to fulfil post-mortem requests, which they appear to have diligently served. Direct philanthropy to the poor was the responsibility of the individual canon.

Obits highlight the complex relationship between the deceased, the Cathedral, and the poor; all of whom could benefit from the transactions, on the provision that they also gave something in return. The deceased gave land and funds to the Cathedral who benefitted financially and socially so long as they diligently provided obit services and gave a proportion of proceeds to the poor. The poor received alms in return for prayers for the deceased, which completed the

cycle of reciprocity. Similarly, the Chapter used gifts to further collective goals through purchasing social and political support and favour. They provided hospitality or donated expensive gifts to important figures who were often linked to issues which had a direct effect on the Cathedral's interests (for example the nuncios involved in the Templar inquiry). Gifts strengthened bonds between canons, which remained strong even after death, and both obits and gifts to elite figures cemented the Chapter within wider society. Medieval gift-giving networks can therefore largely be understood as governed by the principles of reciprocity and the desire to receive something valuable in return for generosity. Gifts bound together the rich, the poor, and the Church in a continuous cycle of reciprocal exchange.

This research has demonstrated the relationship between symbolism and status in influencing gift-exchange practices. The Chapter offered self-produced foodstuff or other expensive goods with little or no prospects of financial gain. Instead, the canons aimed to strengthen the position of the collective to gain access to a higher level of social status. Gifts allowed the Cathedral Chapter to exhibit itself as a generous player, which allowed the institution to cement itself within both religious and secular elite circles. The Chapter's gifts to both the poor and rich alike highlighted the canons' ability to appear altruistic, generous and philanthropic. Gift-giving practices were substantial enough to achieve the Chapter's goals of establishing and nurturing favourable networks but were not so excessive as to put the financial performance of the institution at risk. Gift-exchange was a careful balance, whereby the Chapter's generosity brought status and prestige but not the threat of economic insecurity.



## Conclusion

This thesis has made extensive use of the common fund accounts, which have never previously been fully explored. Kathleen Major's preliminary survey in 1945 remains the only other study that focussed on the rich material available in the common fund but only aimed to highlight the scope of the records. This current study has revealed the potential of financial documentation to evaluate the social and economic history of not only the institution that commissioned the records, but the wider society. The study has used the common fund accounts to explore the position of both Lincoln Cathedral Chapter and its diocese, where the tenants and debtors who frequented the records lived and worked. As demonstrated in Chapter One, the common fund, which runs almost continuously for nearly a century, allows a comprehensive understanding of how institutions and urban centres coped with famine and plague. It highlights the ability of institutions to withstand economic pressure and highlights the agency of administrative officials who were well-equipped to manage for change and reduce threats. The study also rejects Francis Hill's conclusion that medieval Lincoln collapsed in the wake of plague.<sup>1</sup> The accounts testify to an economically stable town throughout the fourteenth century. The Chapter continued to extract rents and its income from tithes remained profitable. The Chapter was able to settle debts and managed to successfully preserve a substantial surplus with which to distribute to resident canons every year. The rental data do not indicate that Lincoln's population remained catastrophically low in the aftermath of plague. Urban tenants were revived throughout the 1360s and 1370s, with increased vacant tenements in the countryside, which perhaps suggests that urban centres benefitted from continued rural to urban migration in the later fourteenth century.

The study has demonstrated how the accounts contribute to current understanding of the role of gift-exchange in establishing favourable alliances. The nature of the records allows gift-giving practices to be placed alongside trends in institutional spending and earning, which adds further nuance to current understanding of the value of gift-exchange and the priority of gifts for an institution throughout both stable and uncertain times. The analyses in Chapters Three and Four demonstrate the impact of social and economic change on pilgrimage and provides new data on the relationship of pilgrims with unofficial saints. Much qualitative evidence on the lives of uncanonised saints exists but the common fund accounts offer further analysis using

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1948), pp.251-6, 270-3, 286-90.

quantitative data collected from shrines. The research adds to current knowledge on seasonal trends in pilgrimage because the shrines were opened frequently and regularly throughout the year. The number of openings contributes to and confirms theories on the cyclical nature of pilgrimage and the decisive influence of the harvest. For the first time, it is possible to evaluate and compare the level of veneration at official and unofficial shrines, which has demonstrated that the dichotomy between those with papal recognition and those without was more perceived than real. The final chapter furthers existing understanding of the extent of charity offered by a religious institution in the fourteenth century. The common fund accounts facilitate an analysis on the importance of gift-giving to members of the elite for the Chapter and how external factors, such as prices, affected gift-giving practices. It allows for a direct comparison of the Cathedral Chapter's diligence when allocating obits and their decisions to offer gifts to elite figures in order to advance temporal institutional goals.

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of ceremonial gift-exchange in the creation of social networks in the fourteenth century. Laymen and clergy, both living and dead, rich and poor, were connected through the offering, accepting, and reciprocating of gifts. As Marcel Mauss's theory of *Total Social Fact* explored, ceremonial gifts united the entire society in reciprocal and continuous exchange. The common fund is a rich resource, full of evidence to highlight the frequency with which the Cathedral Chapter both received and offered gifts. All examples of gift-exchange demonstrate the mutual benefit to both benefactor and beneficiary. Pilgrims received the opportunity for intercession, to express piety or penance, or a chance of adventure. In return, the Church received funds and the saints received veneration and a place in collective memory. The poor received alms in return for their prayers, which allowed the rich to go to heaven and the Church to receive land or coin. The Chapter at Lincoln offered money or foodstuffs to members of the secular and religious elite in return for special favour. The gift played a continual role in the development of alliances that could transcend the realms of living and dead.

An exploration of the Cathedral Chapter's gift-giving behaviours highlights the ways in which the institution acted as a collective body and cohesive social unit. The Chapter's gifts furthered institutional, rather than individual, goals. The diligence shown to adhere to the obits of deceased canons shows considerable care for the souls of their predecessors. Canons were a brotherhood, and even the deceased remained central to the identity of the collective. As a body, the Chapter gave very little in alms, which suggests that charity was largely an individual

act and only an individual benefactor could benefit from the perceived spiritual rewards attached to charitable giving. The only significant acts of charity within the accounts derive from deceased benefactors. The Chapter's gifts to members of the elite highlight the power of the gift in the pursuit of favour or alliances. Similar to the gilds that Rosser and McCree studied, the Chapter acted as a unit and used gifts to further collective ambition.<sup>2</sup> The diligent serving of obits allowed the canons to strengthen internal bonds and to form a cohesive unit. Donations to the poor as part of obit obligations and gifts to members of the elite cemented the Chapter as an institution within external social networks to further collective goals. Combined, all evidence of gift-exchange in the accounts enabled the canons to secure and develop a collective identity.

An analysis of gift-exchange in the common fund accounts also provides a window through which it is possible to explore the place of the Cathedral and Chapter in the outside world. The role of the Chapter in gift-exchange should primarily be defined as an intermediary body between rich and poor or pilgrim and saint. The Chapter provided pilgrims with access to intercession and saints with access to veneration. They facilitated the passing of souls to heaven and distributed alms to the poor in accordance with the post-mortem wishes of the benefactor. These were responsibilities that the Chapter clearly served diligently. The expenses found within the common fund provide numerous examples of the Chapter allocating significant funds to the poor as part of obits and appear to have spent considerable sums on furnishing shrines and on funding petitions to the pope. The thesis has also highlighted the types of figures with whom the Chapter aimed to establish alliances. Both secular and religious elite individuals, which included the king, archbishops, the queen, rebelling barons, and papal nuncios, received gifts from Lincoln Cathedral Chapter. It was not just religious networks within which the Chapter aimed to secure themselves. The Chapter aimed to cement themselves within secular networks through offering gifts to the king and powerful members of the nobility and Church, which perhaps emphasises the close ties between Church and State. It was not only important for the Chapter to be a powerful spiritual body, but they had secular goals and concerns.

The gifts that the Chapter both received and offered were symbolic. Gift-exchange was never really concerned with material value of the object or coin given. It was the gesture and process

---

<sup>2</sup> See B. McRee, 'Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32.3 (1993), pp.195-225; G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Gilds in England 1250-1500*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.78-86.

of giving, receiving, and reciprocating that was important and valuable. The pilgrim's penny, for example, was arguably not equal in monetary value to the intercession that they were hoping to inspire, but it was symbolically important. The foodstuffs donated and transported to important elite figures was similarly symbolic, especially if the Chapter had personally cultivated the produce. The relationships that gifts were designed to encourage were often worth far more than the actual monetary value ascribed to them. Gift-exchange was a process and the goal was to secure alliances. Gifts carried more symbolic value than monetary worth.

Despite the emphasis on symbolism, gift-exchange provided the Chapter with lucrative sources of revenue. Pilgrim donations were the second most profitable resource and the Chapter's role in serving obits undoubtedly generated high sums, but the exact value remains unknown due to the nature of the accounting practices implemented in the common fund. Where the Chapter acted as an intermediary between the dead and living or rich and poor, gifts were lucrative. However, the gifts directly received and given to those outside its walls did not generate income. The Chapter's intermediary role generated much revenue, but gift-exchange designed to establish alliances between the institution and an external body or individual had no financial motivation, which is perhaps why they were more at the mercy of the institution's economic stability. Gifts to the elite were not financial investments. Giving cost the Chapter significant sums, and canons therefore only used gifts to cement relationships with important secular and elite figures when the institution was economically secure.

Economic concerns influenced gift-giving practices, but successive economic downturns or crises brought different consequences. Where one downturn increased gift-giving, another depleted it. Economic concerns did not inevitably lead to a decline in gift-exchange where benefactors sought to protect their income because a crisis could simultaneously increase the symbolic value of gift-exchange. The famine deterred both pilgrims from offering coin to saints and reduced the Chapter's own gifts to members of the elite. Both the laity as individuals and the Chapter as an institution protected their own finances and prioritised subsistence over the opportunities to establish alliances. In contrast, the period after the Black Death, which scholars also widely regard as a period of economic uncertainty, saw an increase in pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> For example, see J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1977); J. Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past & Present*, 144 (1994), pp.3-35; C. Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in P. Abrams & E.A Wrigley, (eds.), *Towns in Societies: essays in economic history and historical sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.159-185; C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the urban crisis of the late middle ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

With a sustained reduced population, the rise in pilgrim offerings at Lincoln indicates a significant rise in the pilgrimage-going proportion of the laity. The perceived value of intercession or the desire to display piety increased. Where famine had prioritised worldly goods because those able to purchase subsistence survived, the undiscerning death and catastrophe in the aftermath of plague raised awareness for the need to prepare souls for the afterlife. Economic considerations did not necessarily determine the value of the gift but influenced the perceived value of the potential returned gift or gesture. When famine struck, intercession was less valuable than the ability to preserve income and purchase subsistence goods. After plague, the opportunity for divine favour or to display a pious image became increasingly important.

The evidence within the common fund accounts pertaining to the economic stability of Lincoln in the fourteenth century could be explored further as part of a future project. This thesis has by no means exhausted the potential use of the common fund accounts, which still have much to contribute to current knowledge on institutional administration and economic performance. The data enables an evaluation of rents, tithes, demesne farming, and bribes. The accounts allow the Cathedral to be seen largely as a business, with concerns of profit, loss, and economic longevity. A future project using the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter alongside similar records at Durham, Canterbury, and Norwich Cathedral Priories will build upon the existing historiography of regional and national socio-economic change to achieve three key aims. Firstly, in a similar manner to the ways in which manorial records are used to access the peasantry, a future project will use institutional accounts to explore and compare the economic position of staff, tenants, pilgrims, and visitors who frequent the financial records. It will use evidence on rents, tithes, shrines, and the levels of debtors falling into arrears to evaluate the standard of living in medieval towns during an age of famine, inflation, and plague. Secondly, a future project hopes to compare the management of both secular and religious houses. The canons at Lincoln stood to earn a substantial sum of money if the Chapter generated a profit. A project could explore if this had a significant effect on maximising surplus through a comparison of Lincoln and Durham's management techniques and accounting practices. The study will contribute to an understanding of profit as a motivator of perfecting and developing administrative practices and question whether secular cathedrals were better placed to react to economic shocks and pressures due to the canons' desire to protect their own self-interest. A future project will use the common fund accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter to analyse the Cathedral's relationship with the outside world and its interaction with the laity,

who frequent the records in both spiritual and religious capacities. The research would be both original and important as it would demonstrate the potential for economic documents to further understanding of social history and day-to-day living. As this thesis set out to demonstrate, the common fund reveals so much about the economic position of the wider surroundings and can be used to access the lives of the ‘ordinary’ inhabitants of the city and its surrounding villages. Gift-giving offers one method to explore the relationships between the Cathedral Chapter and the outside world, but the accounts also provide further evidence on the development of networks in fourteenth-century society. Farming data, instances of bribes, tithe records, and rental evidence can be further scrutinised to fully consider the place of the Cathedral Chapter within its diocese and the urban space.

## Bibliography

### Unprinted Primary Sources

#### *The Lincolnshire Archives*

The Burwarmote Court Book, LAO FL/TRANSCRIPTS/U/28.

The Chapter Acts, FL/TRANSCRIPTS/J/33.

The Common Fund Accounts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter, Bi/2/4, Bi/2/5 Bi/2/7 Bi/2/8.

Episcopal Register of Bishop John Dalderby, DIOC/REG/2, ff.1.432; DIOC/REG/3 ff.1-432.

#### *The National Archives*

The Exchequer Accounts, PRO E 101/368/3.

### Printed Primary Sources

Bennett, N., (ed.), *The Register of Henry Burghersh 1320-1342 Volume I*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999).

Birch, W.G., *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum*, (1887).

Bradshaw, H., & C. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1897).

Brewer, J.S., J.F. Dimock & G.F. Warner, (eds.), *Giraldi Cambrensis, Opera, Volume 7*, (1964).

Clubley, C., *The book of the memoranda of John Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300-1320*, [Typescript Calendar Register 3 Dalderby Memoranda FF1-432]

Douie, D.L. & D.H. Farmer, (eds.), *Adam of Eynsham: Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Farmer, D.H., *Saint Hugh of Lincoln*, (Harlow: Longman and Darton, 1985).

Ferne, E.C., & A.B. Whittingham, (eds.), *The Early Communar and Pitancer Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory with an account of the building of the Cloister*, (Norwich, Norfolk Record Society, 1972).

Foster, C.W., & K. Major, *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1935).

Foxe, J. *The Book of Martyrs*, (Claxton, 1881).

Gough, H., *Itinerary of King Edward the First throughout his reign, A.D. 1272 – 1307, exhibiting his movements so far as they are recorded*, (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1900).

Halliwell, J.O., (ed.), *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the barons' wars: the miracles of Simon de Montfort*, (Camden: Camden Society, 1840).

Henderson, E.F., (ed.), *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: Longman Greens & co., 1893).

Howlett, R., (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, Volume IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Kershaw, I., *The Bolton Priory Compotus, 1286-1325*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000).

Kimball, E.G., *Some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire 1381-1396 volume I*, (Hereford: Lincoln Record Society, 1955).

Kimball, E.G., *Sessions of the Peace in the city of Lincoln 1351-1354 and the Borough of Stamford 1351*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1971).

Le Neve, J., (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Lincoln Diocese*, (London: Diane E. Greenway, 1962).

Letters, S., 'Online Gazeteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516', *Institute of Historical Research*, (2006), <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>

Loomis, R.M. (ed.), *Gerald of Wales: The Life of Saint Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200*, (London: Garland Publishing, 1985).

Luard, H.R., *Annales Monastici: volume I*, (London: Longman, 1864).

Luard, H.R., *Burton Annales Monastici, volume I* (London, Longman, 1869).

Luard, H.R., (ed.), *Mathaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora: Volume II*, (London: Longman, 1874).

Nilson, B., 'St Thomas Becket; oblations to the four stations connected with the cult of Thomas of Canterbury', in B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp.211-215.

Nilson, B., 'The Norwich Sacrists' Rolls oblations to St William, the High Altar and elsewhere', in B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp.218-221

Paris, M. & J.A. Giles, & W. Rishanger, (eds. & trans.), *Matthew Paris's English History from the year 1235 to 1273, Volume III*, (1852).

Perry, G, *The Life of Saint Hugh of Avalon*, (London: John Murray, 1879).



Phelps-Brown, E.H. & S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables Compared with Builders' Wage-Rates', *Economica*, 23.92 (1956), pp.296-314.

Riley, H.T., (ed.), *William Rishanger, Chronicon et Annales*, (London: PP-47, 1865).

Rosser, G., (ed.), *Towns in Medieval England: selected sources*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

Sillem, R., *Some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire, 1360-1375*, (Hereford: Lincoln Record Society, 1936).

Srawley, J.H., (ed.), 'The Book of John Schalby, Canon on Lincoln (1299-1333)', *Lincoln Minster Pamphlets*, (1949).

Stamp, A.E., E. Salisbury, E. G. Atkinson & J. J. O'Reilly, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 10 Edward III*, (1921).

Thurston, H., *The Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln: Translated from the French Carthusian Life and Edited with Large Additions*, (London: Burns and Oats, 1898).

Vauchez, A., 'Depositions of the London Franciscans at the Process of the Canonisation of St Thomas of Cantilupe: transcription of MS Vat Lat 4015 fol. 140r-146r', in A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.55-558.

Vaughan, R., (ed. Trans.) *The illustrated Chronicles of Mathew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth Century Life*, (Cambridge: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1993).

Williamson, D.M., *The Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln*, (Lincoln: Friends of Lincoln Cathedral, 1956).

### Secondary Sources

Aaron, H., & J. Pechman (Eds.), *How taxes affect economic behaviour*, (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1981).

Abrams, B. A. & M.A Schmitz, 'The 'crowding-out' effect of governmental transfers on private charitable contributions: cross-section evidence." *National Tax Journal*, 37.4 (1984), pp.563-568.

Abrams, P., & E.A. Wrigley, (eds.), *Towns in Societies: essays in economic history and historical sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Abulafia, D., M.J. Franklin, & M. Rubin, *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Aers, D., 'Piers Plowman and Problems in the Perception of Poverty: a Culture in Transition', *Leeds Studies in English*, 14 (1983), pp.5-25.

- Alexander, J.S., 'The Angel Choir of Lincoln Cathedral and the Shrines of St Hugh', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 148.1 (1995), pp.137-147.
- Allen, M., 'The Volume of English Currency, 1158-1470', *The Economic History Review*, 54.4 (2001), pp.595-611.
- Amato, P. R., 'Personality and Social Network Involvement as Predictors of Helping Behaviour in Everyday Life.' *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53.1 (1990), pp.31-43.
- Amos, O.M., 'Empirical analysis of motives underlying Contributions to Charity', *Atlantic Economic Journal*, 10.4 (1982), pp.45-52.
- Andreoni, J. 'Privately Provided Public Goods in a Large Economy: The Limits of Altruism.' *Journal of Public Economics*, 35 (1988), pp.57-73.
- Andreoni, J., 'Toward a Theory of Charitable Fund-Raising.' *Journal of Political Economy*, 106.6 (1988), pp.1186-1213.
- Andreoni, J. 'Giving with Impure Altruism: Applications to Charity and Ricardian Equivalence.' *The Journal of Political Economy*, 97 (1989), pp.1447-1458.
- Andreoni, J., 'An Experimental Test of the Public-Goods Crowding-Out Hypothesis.' *American Economic Review*, 83 (1990), pp.1317-1327.
- Andreoni, J., 'Impure Altruism and Donations to Public Goods: A theory of warm-glow giving', *Economic Journal*, 100 (1990), pp.464-477.
- Andreoni, J., & J. Miller, 'Giving According to GARP: an experimental Test of the Consistency of Preferences for Altruism', *Econometrica*, 70.2 (2002), pp.737-753.
- Andreoni, J. & R. Petrie, 'Public Goods Experiment without Confidentiality: A glimpse into Fundraising', *Journal of Public Economics*, 88 (2004), pp.1605-1623.
- Andreoni, J. & L. Vesterlund, 'Which is the Fair Sex? Gender Differences in Altruism', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, (2001), pp.293-312.
- Apinunmahakul A., & R.A. Devlin, 'Charitable Giving and Gambling: An Empirical Investigation', *National Tax Journal*, 57 (2004), pp.67-88.
- Aptekar, S., 'Gifts Among Strangers: The Social Organisation of Freecycle Giving', *Social Problems*, 63 (2016), pp.266-283.
- Argyle, M., *Advances in the Psychology of Religion, Volume II*, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2013).
- Argyle, M., & B. Beit-Hallahmi, *The Social Psychology of Religion*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).
- Ariely, D., A. Bracha, & S. Bracha, 'Doing Good or Doing Well? Image motivation and Monetary Incentives in Behaving Prosocially', *American Economic Review*, 99.1 (2009), pp.544-555.

Arnold, J., *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

Arnold, J., *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005).

Ashley, W., *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, (London: GP Putman, 1906).

Aston, T.H., & C.H.E. Philpin, (eds.), *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Atkins, G., *Making and Remaking Saints in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Auten, G.E., J. Cilke, & W. Randolph, 'The Effects of Tax Reform of Charitable Contributions', *National Tax Journal*, 45 (1992), pp.267-290.

Auten, G.E., & G. Rudney, 'The Variability of Individual Charitable Giving in the U.S.', *Voluntas*, One, (1990), pp.80-97.

Auten, G. E., H. Sieg, & C.T. Clotfelter, 'Charitable Giving, Income and Taxes: An Analysis of Panel Data.', *The American Economic Review*, 92 (2000), pp.371-382.

Baade, R. A. & J. O. Sundberg 'What determines alumni generosity?' *Economics of Education Review*, 15 (1966), pp.75-81.

Baade, R. A. & J. O. Sundberg 'Fourth down and gold to go? Assessing the link between athletics and alumni giving.' *Social Science Quarterly*, 77.4 (1996), pp.789-803.

Bacrach, D.S., 'The Ecclesia Anglicana goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda, and Conquest during the reign of Edward I of England, 1272-1307', *A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 36.3 (2004), pp.393-406

Bailey A.E., 'Distance, Time and Fancy: Women Pilgrims and their Journeys in English Medieval Miracle Narratives', *Gender and History*, 24.2 (2012), pp.292-309.

Bailey, A.E., 'Modern and Medieval Approaches to Pilgrimage, Gender and Sacred Space', *History and Anthropology*, 24.4 (2013), pp.493-512.

Bailey, A.E., 'Wives, mothers and widows on Pilgrimage: Categories of 'Woman' recorded at English Healing Shrines in the High Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 39.2 (2013), pp.197-219.

Bailey, A.E., 'Lamentation Motifs in Medieval Hagiography', *Gender and History*, 25.3 (2013), pp.529-544.

Bailey, A.E., 'The Rich and the Poor, the Lesser and the Great': Social Representations of Female Pilgrims in Medieval England', *Cultural and Social History*, 11.1 (2014), pp.9-29.

Bailey, M., 'Peasant welfare in England, 1290-1348', *Economic History Review*, 51.2 (1998), pp.223-251.

Bailey, M., & R. Rigby (eds.), *Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death: essays in honour of John Hatcher*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

Bailey, M., 'Demographic decline in late medieval England: some thoughts on recent research', *The Economic History Review*, 49.1 (1996), pp.1-19.

Bailey, R.C. & M.D. Young, 'The Value and Vulnerability of Perceived Religious Involvement', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 126 (1986), pp.963-964.

Baker, N & R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).

Banks, J., & S. Tanner, 'Patterns in Household Giving: Evidence from the UK Data', *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations*, 10 (1999), pp.167-178.

Barclay, K., K. Reynolds, & C. Rawsley, (eds.), *Death, Emotion, and Childhood in Premodern Europe*, (New York: Springer, 2017).

Barr, M. & D. Whynes (eds.), *Current Issues in Economics of Welfare*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993).

Barrett, K.S., 'Panel-Data Estimates of Charitable Giving: A Synthesis of Techniques', *National Tax Journal*, 50 (1991), p.321-334.

Barrett, K.S., A.M. McGuirk, & R. Steinberg, 'Further Evidence on the Dynamic Impact of Taxes on Charitable Giving', *National Tax Journal*, 50.2 (1997), pp.312-334.

Barron, C. M., & C. Burgess, (eds.), 'Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England' *Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium*, (2010).

Bartlett, R., *Why can the dead do such great things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Basil, D. Z., N.M. Ridgway, et al., 'Guilt Appeals: The Mediating Effect of Responsibility.' *Psychology & Marketing*, 23.12 (2006), pp.1035-1054.

Bassin, B., M. Honey & M. Kaplan, *Representations of Motherhood*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Batcho, K.I., 'Personal Nostalgia, World View, Memory and Emotionality', *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, (1998), pp.411-432.

Bates, D., *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067-1092*, (Lincoln: The Honywood Press, 1992).

Bateson, M., D. Nettle, et al, 'Cues of being watched enhance cooperation in a real-world setting', *Biological Letters*, 2 (2006), pp.412-414.

Batson, C.D., 'How Social an Animal? The Human Capacity for Caring', *American Psychologist*, (1990), pp.336-346.

Batson, C.D., P. Schoenrade, & V. Pych, 'Brotherly Love or Self-Concern? Behavioural consequences of Religion', in L. Brown (ed.), *Advances in the Psychology of Religion*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985), pp.185-208.

Batson, C. D., K. O'Quin, J. Fultz, M. Vanderplas, & A. Isen, 'Self-reported distress and empathy and egoistic versus altruistic motivation for helping', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45 (1983), pp. 706-718.

Batson, C.D., J. Fultz, & P.A. Schoenrade, 'Distress and Empathy: Two Qualitatively Distinct Vicarious Emotions with different motivational Consequences', *Journal of Personality*, 55.1 (1987), pp.19-39.

Batson, C.D., & W.L. Ventis, *The Religious Experience: a social-psychological perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Baumann, D. J., R.B. Cialdini, & D.T. Kenrick, 'Altruism as hedonism: Helping and self-gratification as equivalent responses', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40 (1981), pp.1039-1046.

Bean, J.M.W., 'Plague, Population and Economic Decline in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 15 (1962). pp.423-437.

Becker, H.P., *Man in Reciprocity*, (New York: Praeger, 1956).

Beggs, J. K., D.M. Messick, & S.T. Allison, 'Social values and egocentric bias: two tests of the might over morality hypothesis', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55 (1988), pp.606-611.

Bekkers, R., 'Trust, Accreditation, and Philanthropy in the Netherlands', *Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 34 (2003), pp.596-615.

Bekkers, R., 'Measuring Altruistic Behaviour in Surveys: The All-or-Nothing Dictator Game', *Survey Research Methods*, (2007).

Bekkers, R., & P. Wiepking, 'To Give or Not to Give, that's the Question. How Methodology is Destiny in Dutch Data', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 35 (2006), pp.533-540.

Bekkers, R. & P. Wiepking 'Understanding Philanthropy: A Review of 45 Years of Theories and Research', *the 35th annual conference of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Associations and Voluntary Action*, (2006), pp.1-32.

Belfield, C. R. & A. P. Beney, 'What Determines Alumni Generosity? Evidence for the UK.' *Education Economics*, 8.1 (2000), pp.65-80.

Bell, A., & R. Dale, 'Rich Pickings from Medieval Pilgrims', *History Today*, (2013), pp.30-37.

- Benabou, R., & J. Tirole, 'Incentives and Prosocial Behavior', *American Economic Review*, 96.5 (2009), pp.1652-1678.
- Bennet, J.M., 'Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 134 (1992), pp.19-41.
- Bennett, R., 'Factors Underlying the Inclination to Donate to Particular Types of Charity.', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 8 (2003), pp.12-29.
- Berger, I. E., 'The Influence of Religion on Philanthropy in Canada.' *Voluntas*, 17 (2006), pp.115–132.
- Bergstrom, T.C., & O. Stark, 'How Altruism can Prevail in an Evolutionary Environment', *American Economic Review*, 83.2 (1993), pp.149-155.
- Berkowitz, L., (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, (London: Academic Press, 1984).
- Bernheim, B.D., 'A Theory of Conformity', *Journal of Political Economy*, 102.5 (1994), pp.841-877.
- Biddle, P., 'The Problem with Little White Girls, Boys and Voluntourism', *The Huffington Post, The Blog*, (2014).
- Bielefeld, W., P. Rooney, & K. Steinberg, 'How do Need, Capacity, Geography, and Politics Influence Giving?', in A. Brooks, (ed.), *Gifts of Money in America's Communities*, (Lanham, 2005), pp.127-158.
- Bittle, W. G. & R.T. Lane, 'Inflation and Philanthropy in England: A Reassessment of W.K. Jordan's Data', *The Economic History Review*, 29.2 (1976), pp.203-210.
- Blackledge, S., 'In Defence of Voluntourism', *The Guardian African-Network*, (2013).
- Bloch, M. & L.A Manson (trans.), *Feudal Society*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961).
- Blois, G., 'Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy', *Past & Present*, 79 (1978), pp.60-69.
- Boas, F., 'The Potlatch', *Kwakiutl Ethnography*, (1966).
- Bolton, B., & C. Meek, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).
- Bolton, J.L., *The Medieval English Economy: 1150-1500*, (Guildford: Billings and Son, 1980).
- Bolton, J.L., *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973 - 1489*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

- Booth, P., 'Accounting in Churches: A Research Framework and Agenda', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, 6.4 (1993), pp.37-67.
- Breeze, B., 'Widow's Mite or Widow's Might? The Relative Giving of Rich and Poor in the UK', *the 33rd annual conference of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Associations and Voluntary Action*, (Los Angeles, 2004).
- Brenner, R., 'Agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Europe.' *Past & Present*, 70 (1976), pp.30-75.
- Brenner, R., 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 97 (1982), pp.16-113.
- Bridbury, A.R., 'The Black Death', *The Economic History Review*, 26.4 (1973), pp.577-592.
- Bridbury, A.R., *Economic growth: England in the later Middle Ages*, (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1975).
- Bridbury, A.R., 'Before the Black Death', *Economic History Review*, 30 (1977), pp.393-410.
- Briggs, C.D., *Credit and village society in fourteenth-century England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Britnell, R.H., *Growth and Decline in Medieval Colchester, 1300-1525*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Britnell, R.H., *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).
- Britnell, R.H., 'The Black Death in English Towns', *Urban History*, 21.2 (1994), pp.195-210.
- Britnell, R.H., *Britain and Ireland, 1050-1530*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Britnell, R.H & B.M.S. Campbell, (eds.) *A Commercialising economy: England circa 1086 to c.1300*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- Brodman, J.W., *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).
- Brodman, J.W., *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe*, (Washington DC: CUA Press, 2009).
- Brooks, A.C., 'Welfare Receipt and Private Charity', *Public Budgeting and Finance*, 22 (2002), pp.101-114.
- Brooks, A.C., 'Religious Faith and Charitable Giving', *Policy Review*, 121 (2003). pp.39-50.
- Brooks, A.C, (ed.), *Gifts of Time and Money: the role of charity in America's communities*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

Brooks, A.C., *Who Really Cares: The surprising truth about compassionate conservatism*. (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

Brooks, A.C., 'Does Social Capital make you Generous?', *Social Science Quarterly*, 86 (2005), pp.1-15.

Brown, A.D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Brown, L. (ed.), *Advances in the Psychology of Religion*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985).

Brown, J., 'Voluntourism is a waste of time and money: and rappers are better off working in Britain', *The Independent*, (2014).

Brown, P., *The Cult of Saints: its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2014).

Brundage, J.A., *Medieval Canon Law*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1995).

Brundage, J.A., *The Profession and Practice of Medieval Canon Law*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 2004).

Bryer, R.A., 'Accounting for the Social Relations of Feudalism', *Accounting and Business Research*, 95 (1994), pp.208-228.

Bryer, R.A., 'The history of accounting and the transition to capitalism in England. Part One: theory - a critical introduction', *Accounting, Organisations and Society*, 25 (2000), pp.131-162.

Bryer, R.A., 'The history of accounting and the transition to capitalism in England. Part Two: evidence', *Accounting, Organisations and Society*, 25 (2000), pp.327-381.

Burgess, C., "By Quick and by Dead": wills and pious provision in late medieval Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, (1987), pp.837-858.

Burgess, C., "A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England', in S. Wright, *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750*, (New South Wales, 1988), pp.56-84.

Burgess, C., "An Afterlife in Memory": Commemoration and its Effects in a Late Medieval Paris', *Studies in Church History*, 45 (2009), pp.196-217.

Burgoyne, C., B. Young, & C.M. Walker, 'Deciding to Give to Charity: A Focus Group Study in the Context of Household Economy', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 15 (2005), pp.383-405.

Burton, J., & K. Stober, *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

Callus, D.A., 'The Career of Robert Grosseteste', *Oxonesia*, 10 (1945), pp.42-72.



Callus, D.A., *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop: Essays in commemoration of the seventh centenary of his death*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

Campbell, B.M.S. (ed.), *Before the Black Death: Studies of the early fourteenth century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

Campbell, B.M.S., 'The agrarian problem in the early fourteenth century', *Past & Present*, 188 (2005), pp.3-70.

Campbell, B.M.S., *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Campbell, E., *Medieval Saints' Lives: the gift, kinship and community in old French hagiography*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008).

Caplan, L., 'Gifting and receiving: Anglo-Indian charity and its beneficiaries in Madras', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 32 (1998), pp. 409–431.

Carman, K.G., 'Social Influences and the Private Provision of Public Goods: Evidence from Charitable Contributions in the Workplace', *Discussion Paper Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, Stanford University*, (2006).

Carroll, J., S. McCarthy, et al, 'An Econometric Analysis of Charitable Donations in the Republic of Ireland', *The Economic and Social Review*, 36.3 (2006), pp.229-249.

Champion, M., 'The Medium is the Message: Voice Devotional Imagery and Gift Giving amongst the Commonality of the Medieval Parish', *Peregrinations*, 3.4. (2012), pp.103-123.

Chang, W.-C., 'Determinants of donations: Empirical Evidence from Taiwan', *Developing Economies*, 43 (2005), pp.217-234.

Chang, W.-C., 'Religious giving, non-religious giving, and after-life consumption.' *Topics in Economic Analysis and Policy*, 5.1 (2005), pp.1-31.

Chatfield, M., *A History of Accounting Thought*, (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing, 1977).

Chatterjee, P., R.L. Rose, & J. Sinha, 'Why money meanings matter in decisions to donate time and money', *Marketing Letters*, (2013), pp.109-118.

Choe, Y.S., & J. Jeong, 'Charitable Contributions by low and middle-income taxpayers: further evidence with a new method', *National Tax Journal*, 46 (1993), pp.33-39.

Chrimes, S.B., *An Introduction to the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1959).

Cialdini, R. B., D.J. Baumann, & D.T Kenrick, 'Insights from sadness: a three-step model of the development of altruism as hedonism.' *Developmental Review*, 1 (1981), pp.207-223.

Cialdini, R. B., B.L. Darby, & E. Vincent, 'Transgression and altruism: a case for hedonism' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 9 (1973), pp.502-516.

Cialdini, R. B., & D.T. Kenrick, 'Altruism as hedonism: a social development perspective on the relationship of negative mood state and helping', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34 (1976), pp.907- 914.

Cialdini, R. B., M. Schaller, D. Houlihan, K. Arias, J. Fultz, & A.L. Beaman, 'Empathy-based helping: is it selflessly or selfishly motivated?' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52 (1987), pp.749-758.

Clain, S.H., & C.E. Zech, 'A Household Production Analysis of Religious Giving and Charitable Activity', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 58.4 (1999), pp. 923-946.

Clark, E., 'Institutional and Legal Responses to Begging in Medieval England', *Social Science History*, 26.3 (2002), pp.447-473.

Clark, M. S., & J. Mills, 'Interpersonal attraction in exchange and communal relationships', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37 (1979), pp.12-24.

Clarke, C. (ed.), *Power, Identity and Miracles on a Medieval Frontier*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

Clegg, N.W. & C.G. Reed, 'The Economic Decline of the Church in Medieval England', *Explorations in Economic History*, 31.1 (1994), pp.261-280.

Clotfelter, C. & C.E. Steurle, 'Charitable Contributions', in H. Aaron & J. Pechman, (eds.), *How Taxes Affect Economic Behaviour*, (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1981), pp.123-148.

Clubley, C., 'John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300-1320', *Thesis: University of Hull*, (1965).

Coate, S., 'Atruism, the Samaritan's Dilemma, and Government Transfer Policy', *American Economic Association*, 85 (1995), pp.46-57.

Crouch, D.J.F., *Piety, fraternity and power: religious guilds in Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000).

Cohen, E., & M.B. de Jong, (eds.), *Medieval Transformations: texts, power, and gifts in context*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

Cohn, D., 'The Black Death: End of a Paradigm', *The American Historical Review*, 107.3 (2002), pp.703-738.

Cohn, S., *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, (London: Arnold, 2002).

Cohn, S., 'After the Black Death: labour legislation and attitudes towards labour in late-medieval western Europe', *The Economic History Review*, 60.3 (2007), pp.457-485.

Cole, R., 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of John Dalderby Bishop of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaconaries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester*, 35.1 (1915), pp.243-276.

Cole, R., 'Proceedings relative to the Canonization of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the County of Lincoln, York, Archdeaconaries of Northampton and Oakham and the County of Leicester*, 35.1 (1915), pp.1-28.

Cooper, J.P., 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 80 (1978), pp.20-65.

Cormack, M., 'The Economics of Devotion: vows and indulgences in Medieval Iceland', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*, 5 (2009), pp.41-63.

Crook, J., *English Medieval Shrines*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011).

Croot, P., & D. Parker, 'Agrarian Class Structure and the Development of Capitalism: France and England Compared', *Past & Present*, 78 (1978), pp.37-47.

Cueva, C., & R. Dessi, 'Charitable Giving, Self-Image and Personality' TSE, (2012)

Cunningham, J., (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste: His thought and Impact*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012).

Dana, J., D.M. Cain, & R.M. Dawes, 'What You Don't Know Won't Hurt Me: Costly (But Quiet) Exit in Dictator Games', *Organisational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 100 (2006), pp.193-201

Daniell, C., *Death and burial in medieval England 1066-1550*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

Davis, A., 'The Social and Religious Meanings of Charity in Medieval Europe', *History Compass*, 12.2 (2014), pp.935-950.

Davis, J., 'Baking for the common good: a reassessment of the assize of bread in Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 3 (2004), pp.465-502.

Davis, R.G., 'The Anglo-Papal Concordat of Bruges, 1375', *Annuario Historian Pontificiae*, 19 (1981), pp.97-146.

Davies, R.R., *First English Empire: power and identities in the British Isles 1093-1342*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Dawes, R. M., 'Social dilemma', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 31 (1980), pp.169-193.

Day, J., 'The Great Bullion Famine of the fifteenth century', *Past & Present*, 79 (1978), pp.3-54.

Day, J., *The Medieval Market Economy*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1987).

Denton, J.H., *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown 1294-1313*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

Dickinson, F.G. (ed.), *Philanthropy and Public Policy*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: NBER Books, 1962).

Dobie, A., 'The development of financial management and control in monastic houses and estates in England c.1200-1540', *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, 18 (2008), pp.141-159.

Dobie, A., 'An Analysis of the Bursar's Accounts at Durham Cathedral Priory, 1278-1398', *The Accounting Historian's Journal*, 35.2 (2008), pp.181-208.

Dobie, A., 'The role of the general and provincial chapters in improving and enforcing accounting, financial and management controls in Benedictine monasteries in England 1215-1444', *The British Accounting Review*, 47.2 (2015), pp.142-158.

Dobie, A., *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory: Management and Control of a Major Ecclesiastical Corporation, 1083-1539*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Dobson, R., 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical society*, 27 (1977), pp.1-22.

Dobson, R., 'Urban Decline in Later Medieval England', in R. Holt, & G. Rosser, (eds.), *The Medieval English Town, 1200-1540*, (Harlow: Longman Group, 1990), 265-286.

Dodds, B., 'Estimating Arable output using Durham Cathedral Priory receipts, 1341-1450', *Economic History Review*, 57.2 (2004), pp.245-285.

Dodds, B., *Peasants and Production in the Medieval North-West*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007).

Dodds, B., 'Managing tithes in the late middle ages', *Agricultural History Review*, 53 (2005), pp.125-140.

Dodds, B., 'Demesne and Tithe: peasant agriculture in the late middle ages', *Agricultural History Review*, 56.2 (2008), pp.123-141.

Douty, C.M., 'Disasters and Charity: Some aspects of cooperative economic Behaviour', *The American Economic Review*, 62.4 (1972), pp.580-590.

Duffy, E., *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Duggan, A., *Thomas Becket*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Dyas, D., *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700-1500*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001).

Dyer, A., *Decline and growth in English towns 1400-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Dyer, C., *Standards of Living in the later Middle Ages: Social change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Dyer, C., *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994).

Dyer, C., *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)

Dyer, C., *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Late Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Dyer, C., 'Did the Rich really help the Poor in Medieval England?', *Ricos y pobros: opulencia y dearraigo en el Occidente medieval: acts de la XXXVI semana de estudios medieval*, (Pamplona, 2010), pp.307-322.

Dyer, C., 'Poverty and its Relief in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 216 (2012), pp.41-78.

Dyson, R., 'Welfare provisions in Oxford during the latter stages of the old Poor Law, 1800-1834', *The Historical Journal*, 52.4 (2009), pp.943-962.

Eaton, D.H., 'Charitable Contributions and Tax Price Elasticities for Non-itemising Taxpayers', *International Advances in Economic Research*, 7 (2001), pp.432-442.

Eckel, C. C. & P. Grossman, 'Giving to Secular Causes by the Religious and Nonreligious: An Experimental Test of the Responsiveness of Giving to Subsidies.' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33 (2004), pp.271-289.

Edwards, J.R., *A History of Financial Accounting*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

Edwards, K., 'The Political Importance of Bishops during the Reign of Edward II', *The English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), pp.311-347.

Edwards, K., *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).

Eisenberg, N., & P.A. Miller, 'The relation of empathy to prosocial and related behaviours', *Psychological Bulletin*, 10.1 (1987), pp.91-119.

Emerson, R.M., 'The Social Exchange Theory', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2 (1976), pp.335-362.

Epstein, S.R. (ed.), *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Evans, G.R. (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care*, (London: A&C Black, 2000).

Falk, A., & U. Fischbacher, 'A Theory of Reciprocity', *Game and Economic Behaviour*, 54 (2006), pp.293-315.

Farmer, S., *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2002),

Farmer, S., 'From Personal Charity to Centralised Poor Relief: The Evolution of Responses to the Poor in Paris, c.1250-1600', in A. Scott, (ed.), *Experiences of Charity, 1250-1500*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), pp.17-42.

Feldstein, M., 'The Income Tax and Charitable Contributions: Part I - Aggregate and Distributional Effects', *The National Tax Journal*, 28 (1975), pp.81-99.

Finucane, R., *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular beliefs in Medieval England*, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977).

Finucane, R. 'Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their 'miracles'', in M. Jancey, (ed.) *St Thomas of Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Cathedral Publications Committee, 1982), pp.137-144.

Finucane, R., 'Authorizing the Supernatural', in B. Bolton & C. Meek, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp.289-303.

Fong, C.M., 'Evidence from an experience of Charity to Welfare Recipients: Reciprocity, Altruism and the Empathetic Responsiveness Hypothesis', *The Economic Journal*, 117 (2007). pp.1008-1024.

Fryde, E., 'Parliament and the French War: 1336-1340', in E. Fryde & E. Miller, (eds.), *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, (Cambridge, 1970), pp.242-262.

Fryde, E., *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Gadow, Y. 'Studies on giving, little for poor', *The Best Years of Our Lives*, (2007).

Gaposchkin, M.C., *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Galloway, J.A., 'Town and Country in England, 1300-1570', in S.R. Epstein, (ed.), *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.106-130.

Garcia, M., 'Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water: The dilemma of deliberate deposition of pilgrim signs', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 1.3 (2003), pp.1-13.

Goddard, R., *Credit and Trade in Later Medieval England, 1353-1532*, (New York: Springer, 2016).

Gouldner, A., 'The Norm of Reciprocity', *American Sociological Review*, 25.2 (1960), pp.161-178.

Goulding, C., 'Romancing the Past: Heritage Visiting and the Nostalgic Consumer', *Psychology and Marketing*, 118.6 (2001), pp.565-592.

Gruber, J., 'Pay or Pray? The Impact of Charitable Subsidies on Religious Attendance', *Journal of Public Economics*, 88 (2004), pp.2635-2655.

Haley, N., E. Chou, T. Cohen, & R. Livingston, 'Status conferral in intergroup dilemmas: behaviour antecedents and consequences of prestige and dominance', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102. 2 (2011), pp. 351–366.

Haley, K.J. & D.M.T. Fessler, 'Nobody's Watching? Subtle Cues affect generosity in an anonymous Game', *Evolution of Human Behaviour*, 26 (2005), pp.245-256;

Halfpenny, P., 'Economic and Sociological Theories of Individual Charitable Giving: Complementary or Contradictory?', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations*, 10 (1999), pp.197-218.

Hall, D.J., *English Medieval Pilgrimage*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

Hanawalt, B.A., & D. Wallace, (eds.), *Bodies and Disciplines: intersections of literature and history in fifteenth century England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

Hanson, J. 'Culture, change and cascading damage at a local United Way', *Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing*, 20.1 (2008), pp.119–132.

Hanson, J.H., 'The Anthropology of Giving: Toward a Cultural Logic of Charity', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 8 (2015), pp.501-520.

Harris, M.B., 'The effects of altruism on mood' *Journal of Social Psychology*, 102 (1977), pp.197-208.

Harvey, B., 'The population trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (1966), pp.23-42.

Harvey, B., 'Introduction: the crisis of the early fourteenth century', in B.M.S. Campbell, (ed.), *Before the Black Death*, (Manchester 1991), pp.1-24.

Harvey, B., *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: the monastic experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Harvey, P.D.A., *Manorial Records*, (London: British Records Association, 1999)

Hatcher, J., *Plague, Population, and the English Economy*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1977).

Hatcher, J., 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past & Present*, 144 (1994), pp.3-35.

Hatcher, J., *The Black Death: an intimate story of a village in crisis 1345 – 1350*, (London: Phoenix, 2009).

Heal, F., 'Food gifts, the household and politics of exchange in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 199 (2008), pp.41-70.

Heale, M. (ed.), *The Prelate in England and Europe 1300-1560*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014).

Heath, P., 'Between Reform and Reformation: The English church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41.4 (1990), pp.647-678.

Helmholtz, R.H., *Canon Law and the Law of England*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987).

Helmholz, R.H., *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, 1: The Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from 597 to the 1640s*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Henaff, M. & J.L. Morhange, (trans.), *The Price of Truth: Gift, Money and Philosophy*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

Herlihy, D., *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Hibbert, S., & S. Horne, 'Giving to charity: questioning the donor decision process.' *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 13 (1998), pp.4-13.

Hicks, M. (ed.), *Profit, piety and the professions in later medieval England*, (Stroud, A Sutton 1990).

Higgins, E. T., 'Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect', *Psychological Review*, 94 (1987), pp.319-340.

Hill, F., *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Hilton, R.H., *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

Hilton, R.H., 'Agrarian Class-Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Crisis in Feudalism', *Past & Present*, 80 (1978), pp.3-19.

Hilton, R.H., *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism*, (London: Verso, 1990).

Hilton, R.H., 'Towns in English Medieval Society', in R. Holt, & G. Rosser, (eds.), *The Medieval English Town, 1200-1540*, (Harlow: Longman Group, 1990), pp.19-28.

Hilton, R.H., 'Small Town Society in England Before the Black Death', in R. Holt, & G. Rosser, (eds.), *The Medieval English Town, 1200-1540*, (Harlow: Longman Group, 1990), pp.71-96.

Hobhouse, L.T., *Morals in Evolution: A Study in Comparative Ethics*, (London: H. Holt, 1906).



Hodgkinson, V.A., & M.S. Weitzman, *Giving and Volunteering in the United States*, (Washington DC: AGRIS,1996).

Hoffman, M.L., 'Is Altruism part of Human Nature?' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40.1 (1981), pp.121-137.

Hoge, D. R. 'Introduction: The Problem of Understanding Church Giving', *Review of Religious Research*, 36 (1994), pp.101-110.

Hoge, D.R., & F. Yang, 'Determinants of Religious Giving in American Denominations: Data from Two Nationwide Surveys', *Review of Religious Research*, 36 (1994), pp.123-148.

Holt, R., 'Gloucester in the Century after the Black Death', in in R. Holt, & G. Rosser, (eds.), *The Medieval English Town, 1200-1540*, (Harlow: Longman Group, 1990), pp.141-159.

Holt, R., & G. Rosser, (eds.), *The Medieval English Town, 1200-1540*, (Harlow: Longman Group, 1990).

Homans, G., 'Social Behaviour as Exchange', *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (1958), pp.597-606.

Hood, R. D., S.A. Martin, et al., 'Economic Determinants of Individual Charitable Donations in Canada', *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, 10 (1977), pp.653-669.

Horrox, B., *The Black Death*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

Hoskin, P., C. Brooke & B. Dobson (eds.), *The Foundations of English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

Hoskin, P., 'Holy Bishops and Political Exiles: St Richard's cult and political protest in the late thirteenth century', (2009).

Houston, D.J., 'Walking the Walk of Public Service Motivation: Public Employees and Charitable gifts of Time, Blood, and Money', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 16 (2006), pp.67-86.

Howard, D.R., *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage and Narratives and their Posterity*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1980).

Hrung, W. B., 'After-Life Consumption and Charitable Giving.' *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 63 (2004), pp.731-745.

Hunsberger B. & E. Platonow, 'Religion and Helping Charitable Causes', *The Journal of Psychology*, 120 (2001), pp.517-528.

Hunter, A., 'Local knowledge and local power: notes on the ethnography of local community elites', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 22.36 (1993), pp.36-58.

- Jackson, E. F., M. D. Bachmeier, et al., 'Volunteering and charitable giving: Do religious and associational ties promote helping behaviour?' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 24 (1995), pp.59-78.
- Jacobs, K., 'The sacred and the secular: examining the role of accounting in the religious context', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, 18.2 (2005), pp.189-212.
- James, R.N., & D.L. Sharpe, 'The Nature and Causes of the U-Shaped Charitable Giving Profile', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 36 (2007), pp.218-238.
- Jancey, M., (ed.) *St Thomas of Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Cathedral Publications Committee, 1982).
- Jones, G., *History of the Law of Charity, 1532-1827*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
- Jones, M.J., 'Internal Control, accountability and corporate governance: Medieval and modern Britain compared', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability journal*, 21.7 (2008), pp.1052-1076.
- Jones, M.J., 'The role of change agents and imitation in the diffusion of an idea: charge and discharge accounting', *Accounting and Business Research*, 38.5 (2008), pp.355-371.
- Jones, M.J., 'Origins of Medieval Exchequer Accounting', *Accounting, Business & Financial History*, 19.3 (2009), pp.259-285.
- Jones, W.R., 'The English Church and Royal Propaganda during the Hundred Years' War', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1979), pp.18-30.
- Jordan, W.K. *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660*, (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 1959).
- Jordan, W.C., & N. David, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Kaplan, H.A., 'The Psychopathology of Nostalgia', *Psychoanalytical Review*, 74 (1987), pp.465-486.
- Kasak, L., & S. Dasgupta, '#instagrammingafrica: the narcissism of global voluntourism', *The Pacific Standard*, (2014).
- Katajala-Peltomaa, S., *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth Century Canonisation Processes*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).
- Kemp, E.W., *Canonisation and Authority in the Western Church*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).
- Kemp, E.W., 'The Attempted Canonisation of Robert Grosseteste', in D.A. Callus, *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop: Essays in commemoration of the seventh centenary of his death*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

- Kempshall, M., *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
- Kermode, J., *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverly and Hull in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Kershaw, I., *Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Kershaw, I., 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315-1322', *Past & Present*, 59 (1973) pp.3-50.
- Kissane, A., *Civic Community in Late Medieval Lincoln: Urban Society and Economy in the Age of the Black Death, 1289-1409*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).
- Kjaer, L. & A.J. Watson, 'Feasts and Gifts: sharing food in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37.1 (2011), pp.1-5.
- Kjaer, L. 'Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), pp.75-89.
- Klima, A., 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Bohemia', *Past & Present*, 85 (1979), pp.49-67.
- Knapp, D., 'The Relyk of a Seint: A Gloss on Chaucer's Pilgrimage', *ELH*, 39.1 (1972), pp.1-26.
- Knowles, D., *Thomas Becket*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970).
- Kolm, S.C., & J.M. Ythier, *Handbook of the Economics of Giving, Altruism and Reciprocity: Foundations, Volume 1*. (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006).
- Komter, A.E., 'Reciprocity as a Principle of Exclusion: Gift giving in the Netherlands', *Sociology*, 30 (1996), pp.299-316.
- Komter, A.E., 'The Gift and Social Relations', *International Sociology*, 22 (2007), pp.93-107.
- Komter, A.E., 'The Evolutionary Origins of Human Generosity', *International Sociology*, 25.3 (2010), pp.443-464.
- Koopmans, R., *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Press, 2011).
- Kraus, M. & D. Keltner, 'Signs of Socioeconomic Status: a thin-slicing approach', *Psychological Science*, 20.1 (2009), pp. 99–106.
- Kraus, M.W., et al., 'Social class, sense of control, and social explanation', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97.6 (2009), pp.992–1004.

Kraus, M., P. Piff, & D. Keltner, 'Social class as culture: the convergence of resources and rank in the social realm', *Psychological Science*, 20.4 (2011), pp.246–250.

Kunze, N.L., 'The Origins of Social Legislation: the Henrican Poor Law of 1536', *Albion*, 3.1 (1971), pp.9-20.

Kurz, M., 'Altruism as an outcome of social interaction', *The American Economic Review*, 68.2 (1978), pp.216-222.

Langdon, J., & J. Masschaele, 'Commercial Activity and Population Growth in Medieval England' *Past & Present*, 190 (2006), pp. 35-81.

Laughlin, R., 'Accounting in its Social Context: An Analysis of the Accounting Systems of the Church of England', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, 1.2 (1988), pp.19-43.

Laughlin, R., 'A Model of Financial Accountability and the Church of England', *Financial Accountability and Management*, 6.2 (1990), pp.93-114.

Lawrence, C.H. (ed.), *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, (London: Burns and Oates, 1965).

Le Goff, J. & P. Ranum, (trans.), *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Zone Books, 1978).

Le Goff, J., *The Birth of Purgatory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Lepine, D., "Their Name Liveth for Evermore"? Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in C.M. Baron & C. Burgess, 'Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England', *Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium*, (2008), pp.58-74.

Lepine, D., 'High Solemn Ceremonies: The Funerary Practice of Late Medieval English Higher Clergy', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.1 (2010), pp.18-39.

Lepine, D., 'Cathedrals and Charity: Almsgiving at English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', *English Historical Review*, 126 (2011), pp.1066-1096.

Le Roy Ladurie, E., 'A reply to Robert Brenner', *Past & Present*, 79 (1978), pp.55-59.

Le Roy Ladurie, E., J. Goy, & S. Burke (trans.), *Tithe and Agrarian History from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries: an essay in comparative history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Levett, A.E. & A. Ballard, *The Black Death on the Estates of the see of Winchester*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1916).

Lewis, K.J., 'Male Saints and Devotional Masculinity in Late Medieval England', *Gender and History*, 24.1 (2012), pp.112-133.

Lewis, S., *The Art of Mathew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1987).

Lichtenberg, J., 'What is Charity?', *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*, 29 (2009), pp. 16-20.

Liebersohn, H., *The Return of the Gift: European History of a Global Idea*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Lin, N., 'Building a network theory of social capital', *Connections*, 22.1 (1991), pp.28-51.

List, J., 'The Market for Charitable Giving', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25.2 (2011), pp.157-180.

Little, L.K., *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Llewellyn, N., 'The delicacy of the gift: Passing donations and leaving change', *Discourse Society*, 22 (2011), pp.155-174.

Lomas, R.A., 'The Priory of Durham and its Demesnes in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *The Economic History Review*, 31.3 (1978), pp.339-353.

Louie, T. A. & C. Obermiller, 'Gender Stereotypes and Social-Desirability Effects on Charity Donation', *Psychology & Marketing*, 17 (2000), pp.121-136.

Lunt, W.E., 'The First Levy of Papal Annates', *American Historical Review*, 18.1 (1912), pp.48-64.

Lunt, W.E., *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1534*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America, 1939).

Lunt W.E., *Papal Revenues of the Middle Ages*, (Hemel Hempstead: Octagon Books, 1965).

Lyons, M. & I. Nivison-Smith, 'Religion and Giving in Australia.' *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 41.4 (2006), pp.419-436.

Maddern, P., 'Rhetoric of Death and Resurrection: child death in late medieval miracle tales', in K. Barclay, K. Reynolds, & C. Rawsley, (eds.), *Death, Emotion and Childhood in premodern Europe*, (Basingstoke, 2016), pp.45-63.

Maddicott, J.R., *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: a study in the reign of Edward II*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Maddicott, J.R., 'The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341', *Past & Present Supplement I*, (1975).

Maddicott, J.R., 'Follower, Leader, Pilgrim, Saint: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at the shrine of Simon de Montfort, 1273', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), pp.641-653.

Major, K., 'The Office of Chapter Clerk at Lincoln in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham*, (Oxford, 1950).

Major, K., 'The Finances of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century: A preliminary survey', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, (1952), pp.149-167.

Malinowski, B., & A. Kuper (ed.), *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagos of Melanesian New Guinea*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).

Marriott, R., & A.M. Jones, 'The Economies of Charitable Giving and Taxation Policy', *Profit Studies*, 1 (1996), pp.27-37.

Martin, R., & J. Randal, 'How is donation behaviour affected by the donations of others?', *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organisation*, 67 (2008), pp.228-238.

Mate, M., 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth-Century England: causes and consequences', *Economic History Review*, 28 (1975), pp.1-16.

Mate, M., 'Coping with Inflation: a fourteenth century example', *Journal of Medieval History*, 4 (1978), pp.95-106.

Mate, M., 'Agrarian Economy after the Black Death: The Manors of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1348 - 354', *The Economic History Review*, 37.3 (1984), pp.341-354.

Mauss, M. & I. Cunnison (trans.), *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, (London: Cohen and West, 1967)

Mayhew, N.J., 'Numismatic evidence and falling prices in the fourteenth century', *Economic History Review*, 27 (1974), pp.1-15.

Mayhew, N.J., 'The circulation and imitation of sterling in the Low Countries, 800-1500', *British Archaeological Reports*, 54 (1979).

Mayhew, N.J., 'Money and prices in England from Henry II to Edward III', *Agricultural History Review*, 35 (1987), pp.126-132.

Mayhew, N.J., 'Population, money supply, and the velocity of circulation in England, 1300-1700', *Economic History Review*, 48.2 (1995), pp.238-257.

Mayr-Harting, H. (ed.), *St Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to celebrate the eight centenary of St Hugh's consecration as bishop of Lincoln*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

McCann, W.H., 'Nostalgia: A review of the Literature', *Psychological Bulletin*, 38 (1941), pp.165-182.

McCelland, R., & A.C. Brooks, 'What is the Real Relationship between Income and Charitable Giving?', *Public Finance Review*, 32 (2004), pp.483-517.

McEvoy, J., *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral Publications, 2003).

McHardy, A.K., 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years' War', *Studies in Church History*, 19 (1982), pp.215-227.

McIntosh, A., & A. Zahra, 'A Cultural Encounter through Volunteer Tourism: Towards the Ideals of Sustainable Tourism?', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15 (2007), pp. 541-556.

McIntosh, M., 'Local responses to the poor in late Medieval and Tudor England.', *Continuity and Change*, 32 (1998), pp.209-245.

McIntosh, M., 'Poverty, Charity and Coercion in Elizabethan England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35.3 (2005), pp.457-479.

McIntosh, M., *Poor Relief and Community in Medieval Hadleigh, Suffolk, 1547-1600*, (Hadleigh: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2013).

McKenna, J.W., 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum*, 45.4 (1970), pp.608-623.

McKisack, M., *The Fourteenth Century: 1307-1399*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959).

McLure, P., 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames', *Economic History review*, 32 (1979), pp.167-82.

McRee, B.R., 'Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England.', *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), pp.195-225.

Merchant, A., & J. Ford, 'Nostalgia and giving to charity: a conceptual framework for discussion and research', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 13 (2008), pp. 13-30.

Mesch, D. J., P.M. Rooney, et al., 'The effects of race, gender, and marital status on giving and volunteering in Indiana', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 35 (2006), pp.565-587.

Miller, E. & J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348*, (London: Longman Group, 1978).

Miller, E., & J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086-1348*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014).

Mohamud, O., 'Beware of the Voluntourists Good', *The Guardian African-Network*, (2013).

Moisa, M., 'Fourteenth-Century Preachers' Views of the Poor: class or status group?', in R. Samuel & G. Stedman-Jones, *Culture, Ideology, and Politics*, (Boston, 1982), pp.160-175.

Mollat, M., *Etudes au l'histoire de la pauvreté*, (Paris: Sorbonne, 1974).

- Mollat, M. & A. Goldhammer (trans.), *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An essay in social history*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
- Monroe, K.R., 'A Fat Lady in a Corset: Altruism and Social Theory', *American Journal of Political Science*, 38.4 (1994), pp.861-893.
- Monsma, S.V., 'Religion and Philanthropic giving and Volunteering: Building blocks for Civic Responsibility', *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 1.3 (2007).
- Morris, C., 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 10.1 (1959), pp.50-65.
- Morris C., & P. Roberts, (eds.), *Pilgrimage: The English experience from Becket to Bunyan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Munro, J., 'Wage-stickiness, monetary changes, and real incomes in late-medieval England and the Low Countries, 1300-1500: did money matter?', *Research in Economic History*, 21 (2003) pp.185-298.
- Munro, J., 'Before and After the Black Death: Money, Prices and Wages in Fourteenth-Century England', *New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Proceedings of Two International Conferences at The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser*, 104 (2004), pp.336-364.
- Mount, J. & E. Kaciak, 'Why Donors Give and Who They Are.' *Perspectives*, 6 (2003).
- Nagel, T., *The Possibility of Altruism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- Nichols, J., *Pinpointing Affluence in the Twenty-first Century: increasing your share of major donor dollars*, (New York: Bonus Books, 2001).
- Nichols, J., *Changing Demographics: Fund Raising in the 90s*, (New York: Precept Press, 1990).
- Nicholson, H., *Knights Templar on Trial: the trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308-1311*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2011).
- Nightingale, P., 'Monetary contraction and mercantile credit in later medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 43.4 (1990), pp.560-575.
- Nightingale, P., 'Knights and Merchants: Trade Politics and the Gentry in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 169 (2000), pp.36-62.
- Nightingale, P., 'Money and Credit in the Economy of Late Medieval England', *Medieval Money Matters*, (2004), pp.51-71.
- Nightingale, P., 'Gold, Credit and Mortality: distinguishing deflationary pressures on the late medieval English economy', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp.1081-1104.
- Nilson, B., *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).



O'Carroll, M., 'The Friars and the Liturgy in the Thirteenth Century', *La predicazione dei frati dalla meta del 200 alla fine del 300*, (Spolete, 1995), pp.201-207.

Odenhale, T. 'The culture of elite philanthropy in the Reagan years', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 18.5 (1989), pp.237-248.

Odenhale, T., *Charity Begins at Home: Generosity and Self-Interest among the Philanthropic Elite*, (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

Offer, S., 'The burden of reciprocity: Processes of exclusion and withdrawal from personal networks among low-income families', *Current Sociology*, 60 (2012), pp.788-805.

Olson D.V.A. & D. Caddell, 'Generous congregations, generous givers: congregational contexts that stimulate individual giving', *Review of Religious Research*, 36 (1994), pp.168-180.

Ormrod, M.W., (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 1986).

Ormrod, M.W., & P.G. Lindley, *The Black Death in England*, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003).

Ostrower, F., *Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Overton, J.H., *Biographical Notices of the Bishops of Lincoln from Remigius to Wordsworth*, (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1900).

Owen, D., *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, (Welwyn Garden City: The History of Lincoln Committee, 1990).

Owen, D., *A History of Lincoln Minster*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Palliser, D.M. (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain, vol. I, 600-1540*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Palmer, R.C., *Selling the Church: The English Parish in Law, Commerce, and Religion, 1350-1500*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Panoff, M., 'Marcel Mauss's 'The Gift' Re-visited', *Man*, 5.1 (1970), pp.60-70.

Pantin, W.A., *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

Pazos, A.M., *Pilgrims and Politics: rediscovering the power of pilgrimage*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

Peloza, J. & K. White, 'Hey, What Gives? The Effects of Altruistic Versus Egoistic Charity Appeals on Donation Intentions.' *Submitted to the Journal of Consumer Research*, (2006).

Peters, R., 'Reflections on the Origin and Aim of Nostalgia', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 30 (1985), pp.135-148.

Phelps, E.S. (ed.), *Altruism, Morality and Economic Theory*, (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1975).

Picarda, H., 'Charity in Roman Law: Roots and Parallels', *Charity Law and Practice Review* 1 (1992-93).

Piliavin, J.A., & H-W. Charng, 'Altruism: A review of recent theory and research', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16 (1990), pp.27-65.

Pitts, R. E. & G.U. Skelly, 'Economic Self-Interest and Other Motivational Factors Underlying Charitable Giving', *Journal of Behavioural Economics*, 13 (1984), pp.93-109.

Platts, G., *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, (Gloucester: The History of Lincoln Committee, 1985).

Polanyi, K., *The Great Transformation*, (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1957).

Poos, L.R., *A Rural Society after the Black Death, Essex 1350-1525*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Portes, A., 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24 (1998), pp.1-24.

Postan, M.M., 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2 (1949-50), pp.22-46.

Postan, M.M., *The Medieval Economy and Society*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1972).

Postan, M.M., *Essays on Medieval Agriculture & General Problems of the Medieval Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

Postan, M.M., (ed.), *Medieval Trade and finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

Postan, M.M., & J. Hatcher, 'Population and Class Relationships in Feudal Society', *Past & Present*, 78 (1978), pp.24-37.

Postan, M.M., & J. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', *The Economic History Review*, 11.3 (1959), pp.392-411.

Powell W.W., & R. Steinberg, (eds.), *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

Pythian-Adams, C., 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in R. Abrams & E.A. Wrigley, (eds.), *Towns in Societies: Essays in economic history and historical sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.158-185.

Pythian-Adams, C., *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Radley, A., & M. Kennedy, 'Charity giving by individuals: a study of attitudes and practice', *Human Relations*, 48-6 (1995), pp.685-709.

Raftis, J.A., *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1957).

Rawcliffe, C., 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), pp.1-21

Rege, M., & K. Telle, 'The Impact of Social Approval and Framing on Cooperation in Public Good Situations', *Journal of Public Economics*, 88 (2004), pp.1625-1644.

Regnerus, M. D., C. Smith, et al. 'Who Gives to the Poor? The Influence of Religious Tradition and Political Location on the Personal Generosity of Americans Toward the Poor.' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37.3 (1998) pp.481-493.

Ribar, D.C. & M.O. Wilhelm, 'Altruistic and Joy-of-Giving Motivations in Charitable Behaviour', *Journal of Political Economy*, 110 (2002), pp. 425-457.

Ricci, G.R., (ed.) *Travel, Discovery, Transformation: Culture and Civilisation vol. vi*, (Piscataway, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2014).

Rigby, S.H., *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline*, (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1993).

Rigby, S.H., *English Society in the Middle Ages*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1995).

Rigby, S.H., 'Urban population in late medieval England: the evidence of lay subsidies', *Economic History Review*, 63.2 (2010), pp.393-417.

Ring, L.A., *Zenana: Everyday Peace in a Karachi Apartment Building*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006).

Rodes, R.E., *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England*, (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977).

Rose-Arckerman, S., 'Altruism, Non-profit, and Economic Theory', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 34 (1996), pp.701-728.

Rosenthal, J., *The Purchase of Paradise: The social function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485*, (Abingdon: Routledge/Thoemms Press, 1972).

Rosser, G., 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England.', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), pp.430-446.

Rosser, G., 'Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town', *Past & Present*, 154 (1997), pp.3-31

Rosser, G., *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: guilds in England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Rubin, M., *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Ruddick, A., *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Rushton, J.P., & R. M. Sorrentino (eds.), *Altruism and helping behaviour: Social, personality, and developmental perspectives* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1981).

Russell, J.C., *British Medieval Population*, (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1948).

Russel, J.C., 'Some notes on the career of Robert Grosseteste', *Harvard Theological Review*, 48 (1955), pp.197-211.

Sabapathy, J., 'A Medieval Officer and a Modern Mentality? Podesta and the Quality of Accountability', *The Medieval Journal*, (2011), pp.43-79.

Sabapathy, J., *Officers and Accountability in Medieval England, 1170-1300*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Saltmarsh, J., 'Plague and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 7 (1941), pp.23-41.

Samuel, R., & Stedman-Jones, G., *Culture, Ideology and Politics: Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

Saul, N., 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *The English Historical Review*, 99 (1984), pp.1-33.

Saul, N. (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000).

Schervish, P. G., & J.J. Havens, 'Do the poor pay more? Is the U-shaped curve correct?', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 24 (1998), pp.79-90.

Schervish, P. G. & J.J. Havens, J.J., 'Explaining the curve in the U-shaped curve.' *Voluntas*, 6 (1995), pp.202-225.

Schervish, P. G. & J.J. Havens, 'Money and Magnanimity: New Findings on the Distribution of Income, Wealth, and Philanthropy.' *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 8 (1998), pp.421-434.

Schieffelin, E.L., 'Reciprocity and the Construction of Reality', *Man*, (1980), pp.502-517.

Schmidtchen, D., 'To Help or to not Help: the Samaritan's Dilemma Revisted', *CSLE Discussion Paper*, (1999), pp.1-14.

Schofield, P., & N. Mayhew, *Credit and Debt in Medieval England, c.1180-1350*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002).

Schwartz, B., 'The Social Psychology of the Gift', *American Journal of Sociology*, 73 (1967), pp.1-11.

Scott, A.M., *Experiences of Poverty in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and France*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

Scott, A.M., *Experiences of Charity, 1250-1650*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2016).

Sen, A.K., 'The Rational Fool: A Critique of the Behavioural Foundations of Economic Theory', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 6.4 (1977), pp.317-344.

Sergeant, A., 'Charitable Giving: Towards a Model of Donor Behaviour', *Social Business*, 4 (2014) pp.304-323.

Sergeant, A., J. Ford, & D.C. West, 'Perceptual Determinants of Nonprofit Giving Behaviour', *Journal Of Business Research*, 59 (2006), pp.155-165.

Sheehan, M.M., *The will in medieval England: from the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the thirteenth century*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1963).

Sheridan, C., 'Pilgrimage and the Medieval World', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 25 (2008), pp.1-144.

Sherry, J.F., 'Gift-giving in anthropological perspective', *Journal of Consumer Research*, (1963), pp.157-168.

Simon, H., 'Altruism and Economics', *Eastern Economic Journal*, 18.1 (1992), pp.73-83.

Slater, T., & G. Rosser, *The Church in the Medieval Town*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

Smith, A., *The Theory of Modern Sentiments*, (London: Penguin, 2010).

Smith, D. H., 'Altruism, Volunteers and Volunteerism.' *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 10 (1981), pp.21-36.

Smith, R.A.L 'The central financial system of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186-1512', *English Historical Review*, (1940), pp.353-369.

Smith R.A.L., *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: a study of monastic administration*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943).

Smith, R.M., & P. Johnson, (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Snape, R.H., *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926).

Soetevent, A., 'Anonymity in Giving in a Natural Context? A Field Experiment in 30 Churches', *Journal of Public Economics*, 89 (2005), pp.2301-23.

Southern, R.W., *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Spiegel, M., 'Charity without Altruism.' *Economic Inquiry*, 33 (1985), pp.625-639.

Spilka, B., R.W. Hood, & R.L. Gorsuch, *The Psychology of Religion: an empirical approach*, (New York: Guildford Press, 1985).

Spufford, P., *Money and its uses in medieval Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Stark, O., *Altruism and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Books, 1995).

Steinberg, R., 'Overall Evaluation of Economic Theories', *Voluntas*, 8 (1997), pp.179-204.

Stocker, D.A. 'The Shrine of Little Saint Hugh', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral VIII, The British Archaeological Association*, (1982), pp.109-117.

Stocker, D. A. 'The Tomb and Shrine of Bishop Grosseteste in Lincoln Cathedral', *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*. (1985), pp.143-148.

Stocker, D.A., 'The quest for one's own front door: Housing the vicars choral at the English Cathedrals', *Vernacular Architecture*, 36 (2005), pp.15-31.

Stocker, D.A., 'The Works Chantry Screen in the Great Transept of Lincoln Cathedral', *Church Archaeology*, 15 (2011).

Stone, D., *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Stone, E., 'Profit-and-loss accountancy at Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12.15 (1962), pp.25-48.

Strathern, M., (ed.), *Audit Cultures: Anthropological studies in accountability, ethics, and the academy*, (London: Psychology Press, 2004).

Sugden, R., 'The Economics of Philanthropy', *The Economic Journal*, 92.366 (1982), pp. 341-350.

Swanson, R.N., *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

Swanson, R.N., 'Indulgences for Prayers for the Dead in the Diocese of Lincoln in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52.2 (2001), pp.197-219.

Swanson, R.N., 'Pay Back Time? Tithes and Tithing in Late Medieval England', *Studies in Church history*, 46 (2010), pp.124-133.

Swanson, R.N., *Indulgences in late medieval England: passports to paradise?*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Sweetinburgh, S., *The role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-Giving and the spiritual economy*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004).

Sweetinburgh, S., 'A Tale of Two Mazers: negotiating donor/recipient relationships at Kentish Medieval hospitals', *Archaeological Cantiana*, 136 (2015), pp.1-29.

Theilman, J.M., 'Political Canonisation and Political Symbolism in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), pp.241-266.

Theilman, J.M., 'On the Road to Health: Pilgrimage in Medieval England', in G.R. Ricci, (ed.), *Travel, Discovery, Transformation: Culture and Civilisation vol. vi*, (Piscataway, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2014).

Thomson, J.A.F., 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 16 (1965), pp. 178-195.

Thompson, A.H., *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947).

Thrupp, S., *Change and Medieval Society: Europe North of the Alps 1050-1500*, (Totonto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1988).

Tierney, B., 'Grosseteste and the theory of Papal Sovereignty', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1955), pp.1-17.

Tierney, B., *Medieval Poor Law*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

Tierney, B., 'The Decretists and the Deserving Poor', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1.4 (1959), pp.360-373.

Tingle, E., 'Cathedral and Pilgrimage in Medieval and Modern Times', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63.2. (2012), pp.380-382.

Titow, J.Z., *English Rural Society, volume XIV* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1969).

Unger, L. S., 'Altruism as a Motivation to Volunteer', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 12 (1991), pp.71-100.

Vaidyanathan, B., C. Smith, & J.P. Hill, 'Religion and Charitable Financial Giving to Religious and Secular Causes: Does Political Ideology Matter?', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 50.3 (2011), pp.450-469.

Valente, C., 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in Thirteenth Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), pp.27-49.

Vauchez, A., *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Venables, E., 'The Shrine and Head of Saint Hugh', *Archaeological Journal*, 50 (1893), pp.37-61.

Verhezen, P., 'Gifts and Alliances in Java', *Ethical Perspectives*, 9.1 (2002), pp.56-65.

Ward, B., *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

Warren, P.E. & I. Walker, 'Empathy, effectiveness and donations to charity: Social psychology's contribution', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 30 (1991), pp.325-337.

Watts, D.G., 'A model for the early fourteenth century', *Economic History Review*, 20.3 (1967), pp.543-547.

Webb, D., *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, (London: Tauris Publishing, 2001).

Webb, D., *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, (London: A&C Black, 2007).

Weber, M. & J. Cohen, (ed.), *General Economic History*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1981).

Webster, H., 'Mediating Memory: recalling and recording the miracles of Saint Thomas of Cantilupe' *Journal of Medieval History*, 41.3 (2015), pp.292-308.

Weinstein, D., & R.M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The two worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Wells, E., 'Making 'Sense' of the Pilgrimage Experience of the Medieval Church', *Peregrinations*, 3.2 (2011), pp.122-146.

Wiepking, P., 'Do the Poor Donate More? The Effect of Income on Philanthropic Donations', *the 33rd annual Arnova conference, California* (2004).

Wiepking, P., 'Birds of a Feather Flock Together. Why People Donate to Specific Charitable Organizations', *the 35th annual Arnova conference, Chicago*, (2006).

Wiepking, P., 'The Philanthropic Poor: In Search of Explanations for the Relative Generosity of Lower Income Households', *Voluntas*, 18 (2007), pp.339-358.

Wiepking, P. & I. Maas, 'Gender Differences in Poverty: A Cross-National Study', *European Sociological Review*, 21 (2005), pp.187-200.

Wilhelm, M. 'Giving to organisations that help people in need: Differences across denominational activities', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 49 (2010), pp.389-412.

Will, J. A. & J.K. Cochran, 'God Helps Those Who Help Themselves? The Effects of Religious Affiliation, Religiosity, and Deservedness on Generosity Toward the Poor.' *Sociology of Religion*, 56.3 (1995), pp.327-338.



- Williams, C., 'Repaying Favours: unravelling the nature of community exchange in an English locality', *Community Development Journal*, 1 (2009), pp.488-499.
- Williamson, G. M., & M.S. Clark, 'Providing help and desired relationship type as determinants of changes in moods and self-evaluations', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56 (1989), pp.722-734.
- Wills, J.A. 'The dimensions of poverty: Public perceptions of the deserving poor', *Social Science Research*, 22 (1993), pp.312-332.
- Winston, R., *Thomas Becket*, (London: Constable, 1967).
- Wolff, R.D & S.A. Resnick, *Contending Economic Theories: Neoclassical Keynesian, and Marxian*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2012).
- Wood, J.W., et al. 'The Temporal Dynamics of the Fourteenth Century: new evidence from ecclesiastical records', *Human Biology* 75 (2003), pp.427-448.
- Wood-Leigh, K., *Perpetual chantries in Britain*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1965).
- Woolgar, C.M., 'Gifts of Food in late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), pp.6-18.
- Wright, J.R., *The Church and the English Crown 1305-1334*, (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980).
- Wright, K., 'Generosity vs. Altruism: Philanthropy and Charity in the United States and the United Kingdom', *Voluntas*, 12 (2002), pp.399-416.
- Wright, S. (ed.), *Church, Parish and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750*, (Crow's Nest: Allen and Unwin, 1988).
- Wunde, H., 'Peasant Organisation and Class Conflict in Easter and Western Germany', *Past & Present*, 78 (1978), pp.48-55.
- Wuthnow, R., *Acts of compassion: Caring for others and helping ourselves*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- Yarrow, S., *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle stories in Twelfth Century England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006).
- Zakari, R., 'The White Tourists' Burden', *Aljazeera America*, (2014).